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OF THE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME

VOLUME I, 1905

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Archaeological Institute of America

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

IN

ROME

VOLUME I

BY

HENRY HERBERT ARMSTRONG

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE Papers of the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens and in Rome, and the archaeological Papers of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine, are published ordinarily in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America* (*American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series*). The Council of the Institute, however, has authorized by vote the issue of supplementary volumes of Papers of the Schools, when the material for publication either exceeds the space available in the *Journal* or is of such a nature as to make a different mode or form of publication advisable. In accordance with that vote the present volume of *Supplementary Papers of the American School in Rome* is issued, the Archaeological Institute bearing the financial expense. The Editorial Board of the *Journal*, through the Editor-in-Chief (Professor WRIGHT), and the Secretary of the Managing Committee (Professor PLATNER) have assisted the Director as a committee of publication.

Soon after the founding of the School in Rome in 1895, the publication of its Papers, wherein are set forth the results of scientific researches conducted by its officers, fellows, students, and occasionally by its friends, was begun in Volume II of the *Journal of the Institute*, which has published also the Annual Reports of the Chairmen of the Managing Committee and of the Directors. The Papers that have appeared already are :

Journal of the Institute, Volume II, 1898:

ALLAN MARQUAND, 'A Capital from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome.'

WALTER DENNISON, 'The Epigraphic Sources of Suetonius.'

WALTER DENNISON, 'Some New Inscriptions from Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum, and Cumae.'

WALTER DENNISON, 'Two Notes: 1. On Some Oscan Inscriptions. 2. On Commemorative Actorum Saecularium Quintorum, l. 64.'

Journal of the Institute, Volume III, 1899:

FRED BURTON RANNEY HELLEMS, 'The Pupus Torquatianus Inscription.'

GORDON JENNINGS LAING, 'The Principal Manuscripts of the *Fasti* of Ovid.'

GEORGE N. OLcott, 'Some Unpublished Inscriptions from Rome.'

Journal of the Institute, Volume IV, 1900:

MINTON WARREN, 'On the *Distinctio Versuum* in the Manuscripts of Terence.'

CHARLES LINTON MEADER, 'Symmetry in Early Christian Relief Sculpture.'

JOHN MILLER BURNAM, 'Prudentius Commentaries.'

CHARLES JAMES O'CONNOR, 'The Tribunal Aurelium.'

CHARLES HOEING, 'The Codex Dunelmensis of Terence.'

Journal of the Institute, Volume V, 1901:

ANNA SPALDING JENKINS, 'The "Trajan Reliefs" in the Roman Forum.'

HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, 'The Roman Aqueducts as Monuments of Architecture.'

Journal of the Institute, Volume VI, 1902:

MARY GILMORE WILLIAMS, 'Studies in the Lives of Roman Empresses: I. Julia Domna.'

Journal of the Institute, Volume VII, 1903: Preface, p. 2.

FREDERICK WILLIAM SHIPLEY, 'Sources of Corruptions in Latin Manuscripts.'

A large part of the work on two important Papers in this volume of *Supplementary Papers* was done by THOMAS ASHBY, JR., Esq., M.A., Vice-Director of the British School in Rome. The Director of the American School gladly avails himself of this opportunity to express the high appreciation in which the School holds the help that it repeatedly has received from Mr. ASHBY.

It is to be understood, of course, that the authors of these Papers are responsible for such opinions and sentiments only as are expressed in the Papers written by themselves.

R. NORTON.

ROME, *Via Vicenza*, 5,
September, 1905.

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STAMPS ON BRICKS AND TILES FROM THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME

[PLATES I-X]

ON the 23rd of October, 1902, after a violent rain-storm, a piece of the so-called Aurelian Wall at Rome, 29.7 m. (or 100 Roman feet) long, standing between the fifth tower and the sixth east of the Porta San Giovanni, collapsed¹ (cf. *La Tribuna*, Rome, October 24, 1902).

The debris, which consisted of bricks and tiles more or less broken, of lumps of tufa, mortar, and earth, were soon after removed and piled up temporarily near by, the broken bricks and tiles by themselves. Casual observation having revealed that many of the latter bore ancient Roman stamps, Professor Richard Norton, the Director of the School, obtained for us the official permission to make an exhaustive search for and examination of them.

The results of this work are contained in the present paper.

All the bricks and tiles on the site were examined, one by one, either by ourselves, or under our constant personal supervision by workmen especially instructed. Every piece found bearing any letters was kept; and of the pieces that were stamped or otherwise marked with figures only, all but those that bore duplicates of some common and

¹ The measure (our own) is in agreement with the tower-interval given by Professor Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, 'Walls of Aurelian and Probus,' p. 68.

Speaking of the deplorable decay of these defences, he says (*op. cit.* p. 68): "A section of them, 70 metres long, between the Porta S. Giovanni and S. Croce in Gerusalemme, fell in 1893. The only measure taken was a warning given to passers-by that another portion would soon share the same fate."

Cf. also *Bull. della Comm. Archeol. Com.* 1892, pp. 87-111.

For a full description of the Aurelian Wall, see Otto Richter, 'Topographie der Stadt Rom,' in I. von Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alterthumswoissenschaft*, vol. III, pt. iii, 2nd half, 1901, pp. 66-72. A brief account of it is given by Samuel B. Platner in *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, Boston, 1904, pp. 64-67 and 116-122.

The brick industry in ancient Rome is discussed by R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 38-42. Cf. also H. Blümner, *Technologie . . . bei Griechen und Römern*, 1879, vol. II, pp. 1-32.

The best introduction to the study of Roman brickstamps is the preface by Dr. Heinrich Dressel to vol. XV, pt. i (1891), of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The subject is briefly treated by René Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, 3rd ed., 1898, pp. 308-314, and by James C. Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 1897, pp. 269-273, with examples on pp. 337-340.

simple circular kinds.¹ A few stamps, which had been picked up at the place by friends before our systematic search began, were most kindly given us to complete the collection when our intention was made known. We also found a few small pieces of coarse black-and-white Roman floor-mosaic, some small pieces of bricks edged with simple ornamental mouldings of leaves, of eggs and darts, and of cubes, some slab-shaped bits of *giallo antico*, and an insignificant, much-worn fragment of a Latin inscription on white marble, apparently from a Roman tomb.

The collected objects are for the present deposited in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome.

The stamps were carefully cleansed by means of crude concentrated hydrochloric acid and a stiff brush, and subsequent rinsing with cold water; then read or deciphered as well as their often very defective condition permitted, if necessary in a darkened room by a strong side-light, and at last carefully recorded in the following Table.

The number of stamps and other marks thus obtained was 832, of which 594 are lettered, whole and fragmentary, the fragments not belonging to the same brick, and 238 figured, whole and fragmentary, the latter likewise not belonging to the same brick. The stamps and marks are, by our registration, of 464 different kinds.

The Table consists of two parts:

Part I, containing the data recorded of lettered stamps, Nos. 1-336;

Part II, consisting of an index to the ten illustrative Plates, together with the data recorded of unlettered or figured stamps and marks, Nos. 337-464.

PLATE I is a view of the site (cf. p. 72). On PLATES II, III, IV, VIII, and IX are reproduced a few only of the lettered stamps, namely, some not found by us recorded elsewhere, and others requiring especial comment; but all the well-characterized different kinds of *figured* stamps and of similar marks not stamped are reproduced on PLATES III-X; indeed, for the sake of completeness a few specimens are given of the marks mentioned above that may be accidental.

In Part I of the Table, the lettered stamps are arranged in three groups:

First are placed (Nos. 1-221) what may be called the identified stamps, entire or fragmentary; that is, stamps which we found with certainty or, at least, great probability already noted in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. XV, pt. 1 (1891).²

¹ The stamped figures consist of various designs, of groups of large dots, or of combinations of such dots with designs. A few might be the chance imprints of the bottom of a vessel or some other object.

The marks that are not stamped—that is, not impressed, like ordinary lettered stamps, by means of an engraved block or some similar ready-made device—consist of coarse dots, dashes, and curves, and combinations of them. They look as if they had been impressed either with the round end of a stick or drawn with the fingertips.

² We are aware that some fragments which we have thus associated with recorded stamps may belong to stamps as yet unrecorded, since it is often impossible to ascertain from a fragment what the entire stamp really was; especially as stamps are known to occur not only in slightly differing variants, but also with errors and other exceptional features.

The accumulated records of brickstamps in the *Corpus* represent, however, such a vast body of expert observation, that it is not likely that a comparatively small collection like this, made so recently in Rome itself, should contain many stamps hitherto unnoticed.

They are given in the same order as in that work, but are interspersed with a few stamps not found recorded there, about the place of which among the others, however, there could be no doubt.

Next follow (Nos. 222–232) those stamps not found in the *Corpus* which, though clear enough, could not be connected with any stamps there described, and the very defective stamp No. 233.

Last are put fragments of lettered stamps which might, generally speaking, have belonged to some one or several already in the *Corpus*, but could not from defectiveness be identified. We have, for the sake of clearness, attempted a partly mechanical classification of this last group, placing first in order those stamps (Nos. 234–258) which belong undoubtedly or very probably to the year of the consulship of L. Venerius Apronianus and Q. Articuleius Paetus, 123 A.D. At the head of this subdivision, stamp No. 234 stands by itself, because one example of the five found (any of these might be *C.I.L.* Nos. 490–493) is almost complete. It is followed by the beginnings, middles, and ends of three-line fragments, then of two-line fragments, and finally of one-line fragments.

After this ‘Apronianus and Paetus’ subdivision come the remaining lettered fragments (Nos. 259–336), grouped by the number of legible letters, and each little group alphabetically ordered in this manner :

Nos. 259, 260, fragments of twelve letters, alphabetically.

No. 261, fragment of ten or eleven letters.

Nos. 262–265, fragments of nine letters, alphabetically.

etc. etc.

The record of every lettered stamp extends across two pages, and gives in thirteen columns,—columns three, four, and five not being separated by ruling,—

On the *left-hand* page :

(1) In the column headed “List No.,” the list-number of the stamp.

(2) In the column headed “Shape,” the outline of the stamp, if it has any, according (generally) to the usage of the *Corpus*, the absence of a figure signifying that the letters have no frame and are stamped in one straight line, or several lines, as recorded.

The various crescents and other round figures with two cusps, and the circles printed in this column, are of two sizes (see, for instance, p. 64). The larger signifies that the kind of outline indicated has been actually observed; the smaller, that the outline was certainly rounded, at least in part, but that it was not possible to determine from its defective condition either what kind of round figure in general, O, or what kind of crescent or similar round figure with two cusps, O, it was.

(3) In the column headed “Letters,” the word “Impressed,” if the letters and other marks of a stamp are *not* in relief. In a few cases there is a fuller note or some other remark in this place.

(4) In the column headed “Stamp,” the text of the stamp in “Latin Antique” capital letters and large punctuation-marks as made out from the example or examples of it found by us; and, moreover, the text,—if the stamp is one recorded in the *Corpus* or elsewhere, and our record of it is imperfect on account of defectiveness of the speci-

mens,—completed from the *Corpus* or other source in “self-spacing” italic type with smaller punctuation-marks to match. Large round punctuation-points are used for both the round points and those whose shape was doubtful from defectiveness, or was not noted. Frequently there is under this text a conventional representation of or a statement about other letters and accessory figures on the stamp. A part or all of the explanatory statement is sometimes enclosed in square brackets []. These show that the objects mentioned within them are absent in the examples, but given in the *Corpus*. Hatched letters, like this A, or hatched parts of letters, and accompanying marks (arrow-heads, palm-leaves, and the like) similarly printed, signify doubtful but probable readings. Hatched figures signify the same.

It has been deemed sufficient, following the precedent of the *Corpus*, to use for this part of our record mainly one kind of Roman and Italic type, and a few conventional signs and figures, though in reality both letters and figures may be somewhat different



FIGURE 1.—STAMP NO. 117, PAGE 34 (*C.I.L.* XV, 1, No. 804, c)
Reduced to one-half of the actual size

(O) EX FG TEMPESN AVRN CÆDICIA P S F 123
PÆTIN E APRONÀ
COS

in shape as well as size on different kinds of stamps. A correct idea of the heights of letters can be obtained from the ninth column of the Table: we have given them partly, however, because we believe that records of such facts systematically and generally kept might be made useful for identifying stamps that are very defective. A knowledge of the *real* appearance of the letters and figures can, of course, be obtained only by studying the stamps themselves.

The text of all lettered stamps is printed in horizontal straight lines in this record; and the text-lines are in reality straight and occur in the same order on all stamps, the outlined shapes of which are not a circle or semicircle, some kind of crescent or similar round figure with two cusps, or an octagon; but whenever the shape indicated is one of these, the text in the Table is still printed in horizontal straight lines, though a part or all of the text on the stamp may in reality be curved. When in the latter cases there are more lines than one, the Table records them in downward order, thus: The first line is the outermost of the stamp; the second is the second going inward

on the stamp; the third (usually a short straight piece of text, or one or more figures or letters) occupies the centre of the stamp. There are no round stamps in this collection with only straight lines of text.

This manner of recording is that of the *Corpus*: the above explanation may be better understood, however, when compared with the preceding reduced facsimile (Fig. 1) of stamp No. 117, and the record of its text underneath,—a stamp especially interesting, because it contains many compound letters, and the record in the *Corpus* is based on two fragments of it only.

(5) In the column headed "Date A.D." some brief note, more or less definite, taken from the *Corpus* for stamps there described. Longer notes and references on dates are placed under "Remarks." All dated stamps are of the present era. The absence of a note on this subject means that the exact or approximate date is unknown.

(6) In the column headed "C.I.L. XV, 1, No." the number of the stamp in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. XV, pt. 1 (1891), and under that number in the case of rare stamps the number of examples on which the *Corpus* record is based. The absence of a number signifies that we did not find the stamp in the *Corpus*.

(7) In the column headed "Marini, No." the number of the stamp, occasionally with the small number of an accompanying note, in the *Abate Gaetano Marini's Iscrizioni antiche dolarii (pubblicate . . . dal Comm. G. B. de Rossi, con annotazioni del dott. Enrico Dressel)*, Rome, 1884, a work superseded by Dr. Dressel's later monumental record of brickstamps in the *Corpus*, vol. XV, pt. 1.¹

The record of every lettered stamp gives, on the right-hand page:

(8) In the column headed "Remarks," usually more information about the stamp, and a reference in some cases to its illustration on a Plate.

¹ For the convenience of the reader we give below, in addition to the works already referred to, a number of more or less important books and papers recording or discussing Roman stamps on bricks and tiles:

Lorenzo Fortunati, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la Via Latina, etc.* (1857-1858), Rome, 1859.

Charles Descemet, 'Inscriptions Doliaires Latines. Marques de Briques relatives à une partie de la gens Domitia avec une étude sur les Briques romaines du Louvre par M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse,' *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. XV, Paris, 1880.

Heinrich Dressel, 'Alcune osservazioni intorno ai bollii dei mattoni urbani,' *Bull. dell' Instituto di Corr. archeol.* 1885, pp. 98-110.

A. Geffroy, 'L'Épigraphie dolaire chez les Romains,' *Journal des Savants*, 1886, pp. 163-175, 239-251, 361-370, 425-435.

Heinrich Dressel, *Untersuchungen über die Chronologie der Ziegelstempel der gens Domitia*, Berlin, 1886.

P. Germano di S. Stanislao, *La Casa Celimontana dei SS. Martiri Giovanni e Paolo*, Rome, 1894, pp. 500-519. G. B. Lugari, 'Sopra la età di alcuni bollii di figuline,' *Bull. della Comm. archeol. com. di Roma*, 1895, pp. 60-80, pl. v.

Pietro Crostarosa, 'Inventario dei sigilli impressi sulle tegole del tetto di S. Maria Maggiore,' *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.* II (1896), pp. 52-89.

— 'I bollii dolarii del tetto dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai monti,' *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.* III (1897), pp. 201-230.

— 'I sigilli dolarii nelle basiliche cristiane,' *Atti del 2^o Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana tenuto in Roma nell' aprile, 1900*; Rome, 1903.

— 'Inventario dei sigilli impressi sulle tegole del tetto di S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Roma,' *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.* VII (1901), pp. 119-144, 291-294.

(9) In the column headed "Height of Letters, mm.," the average height of the letters in millimetres, when measured, and usually for each line of the stamp, if there are more than one. Several numbers in a line mean that the heights vary accordingly.

(10) In the column headed "Average Thickness, mm.," the average thickness in millimetres of the bricks or tiles in the direction vertical to the side stamped. For three or more examples, the smallest and the greatest observed average thickness only are given.

(11) In the column headed "Color," the color, in general terms, of the example or examples found. This color depends on the composition of the clay and the degree of its baking, both conditions that could have been as uniform and fixed by habit or by will in Roman times as they are now. Perhaps, therefore, color can be pressed into service for identification or other knowledge. Some regularity there undoubtedly is, for we have noticed several times, as for Nos. 5, 12, 27, 35, 69, 228, and the Theodoric series, 214-218, that numerous examples of one stamp, or closely related stamps, were colored quite or nearly alike.

(12) In the column headed "No. Found," the number of examples found by us of the stamp; that is, of the entire stamp and of fragments of it apparently not belonging to the same brick or tile.

(13) In the last column headed "List No." the list-number repeated.

Part II of the Table contains an index to the Plates and at the same time a list of figured stamps and other marks with brief notes and references to the illustrations of them. They are roughly classified by the styles and complexity of their designs.

PLATE I is explained here by a long note; PLATES II-X show lettered and figured stamps, as well as some of the other marks in about one-third of their natural size.

If any object on these plates (all, for instance, on PLATE II) has already a place and number in Part I of the table, then the descriptive data are not repeated, but the reader is referred to that place by its list-number.

The record of the unlettered stamps and marks represented on PLATES III-X covers only one page at a time. It gives:

(1) In the column headed "List No.," the list-number of any stamp or mark not previously recorded in Part I.

(2) In the column headed "Plate," the number of the Plate in a Roman numeral and of the illustration on it in an Arabic numeral.

(3) In the column headed "Remarks," sometimes a brief descriptive note, or a statement about similar stamps not illustrated, references, and other information.

(4) In the column headed "Diameter, mm.," the diameter of round figures in millimetres.

(5) In the column headed "Average Thickness, mm.," the thickness of brick or tile, as in Part I.

(6) In the column headed "Color," the color of brick or tile, and

(7) In the last column headed "No. Found," the number of examples kept, usually all that were found, except some of very simple circular stamps, like Nos. 396, 399, 409, and 411 (PLATES VI, 12 and 15, and VII, 7 and 9), the many duplicates of which it did not seem necessary to collect and count.

Figured stamps and other marks on bricks and tiles have not, we believe, been heretofore so fully described.¹ Unfortunately, their purpose is not yet known: on account of their variety it is, indeed, probable that they were used in various ways, perhaps as mere ornaments, as trade-marks or potters' marks, or for a similar practical purpose. Some of them may have been, also, more or less closely associated with Christianity, Mithraism, and other religions.^{2a} Considering the simple geometric designs merely as figures, apart from their purpose, comparison shows that many of them are evidently derived from the system of geometric ornamentation common to the early, and even prehistoric, pottery, metal-ware, stone-sculptures, and bone-carvings of both the Mediterranean basin and northern Europe.^{2b} We had hoped that their occurrence beside

¹ A few are figured or noticed by L. Fortunati, *op. cit.* p. 19, nos. 42–44, and p. 65, nos. 87–89; *C.I.L.* XV, 1, p. 4, note 2, and nos. 1019, *a*, *b*, 1729–1731 (compare also nos. 1578, *a*, *b*); H. Stevenson, *Bull. dell' Instituto*, 1883, p. 10, note 1; G. Marini, *op. cit.* nos. 383, 396, 462; P. Crostarosa, *Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* II (1896), pp. 56, 59, 74; III (1897), pp. 223, 234, 237; J. Miln, *Excavations at Carnac, Brittany*, 1877, pp. 66, 73.

Similar figures are found on Roman lamps (*C.I.L.* XV, ii, 1, p. 860, and nos. 6433, *n*, 6440, 6576, *b*, 6876, *c*; F. X. Kraus, *Real-encyclopaedie der christl. Alterthümer*, vol. II (1886), figs. 126, 128, 169, and others), on Palestinian pottery (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1902, pp. 335, 336), on leaden tokens (M. Rostowzew, *Tesserae plumbeae urbis Romae et suburbii*, 1903, pls. iii, 12, 55, iv, 50, vi, 9, 62, etc.), on coins (H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, vol. III (1860), pl. xv, 200, and others; C. R. Smith, *Collectanea antiqua*, II (1852), pl. xliv, 5), and on other objects (cf. note 2, *a* and *b*).

The disks or simple circles with or without a central dot or small circle, or a number of dots or circles (as, for example, List Nos. 74, 79, and PLATES IV, 17, VI, 1–5, VII, 1, 3, 4, 6), may be representations of shields (M. Rostowzew, *op. cit.* pl. vi, 9, or D. Vagliieri, *Bull. della Comm. archeol. com.* XXXI (1903), p. 48), of paterae, or the round and often perforated cavities for receiving libations, so frequent on Roman sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* VI, nos. 4682, 4654, 4834, 5343, 5589, 5716, 6752, 7195, *a*, 9621, 11797, 15224, 16163, 16183, 16083, 17120, 27876, and many others; cf. also R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum . . . Explicatio*, etc., 1702, pp. 63, 70; C. R. Smith, *Coll. ant.* VII (1880), pp. 175, 196, pls. xix, 6, xix, 4, 3, V (1861), pl. xvi, 3; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, 1873–74, vol. II, p. 476; F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1896, vol. II, p. 418, fig. 349; *C.I.L.* IX, no. 1550; J. Macdonald, *Tituli Hunterianani, an Account of the Roman Stones in the Hunterian Museum*, Univ. of Glasgow, 1897, pl. viii, figs. 1, 4; C. R. Smith, *Coll. ant.* III (n.d.), pl. xxxiii, 2).

A circle with a central dot was used likewise, however, for the letter O (*C.I.L.* XV, ii, 1, no. 5185); it occurs further as a letter in the Etruscan and other Italic alphabets (K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, 1877, vol. II, Beil. 2, plate; R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 1897, vol. II, table), and as an ideogram for the sun, day, and time in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing (A. Erman, *Egyptian Grammar*, Engl. ed., 1894, p. 183, N, 7, 8).

Marks shaped like some of the dotted figures and letters (PLATES VIII, 1–5, 10, 13, IX, 2, 5) were used by Roman stone-masons already in early times (O. Richter, *Über antike Steinmetzzeichen*, 1885 (cf. also A. Mau, *Mittheilungen, Röm. Abth.* IV (1889), pp. 292–294); A. Sogliano, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1898, pp. 69, 70; 1901, pp. 357–361; H. P. F. Marriott, *Facts about Pompei*, 1896), and they occur likewise in Italic alphabets (K. O. Müller, *op. cit.* vol. II, Beil. 2, plate; R. S. Conway, *op. cit.* table; and I. Zvetaeff, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Oscorum*, 1878, vol. Plates, p. ‘Formae’). Compare also M. Armellini, *Il Cimitero di S. Agnese*, 1880, pp. 336, 337.

² (Many of the following references are given merely to afford the reader material for comparison. If the works mentioned are also referred to in Part II of the Table, column “Remarks,” the exact place-references will be found there, any work being indicated either by the author's name, or an abbreviation of the title, or both. References for the fylfot or swastika are only given here, and marked *.)

(a) Some of the figures are identical with such familiar religious symbols as the simple cross (PLATES VIII, 1, IX, 2), the fylfot or swastika (PLATE III, 15), the pre-Constantinian and other Christ-monograms (PLATE V, 3, 6, 8), the eucharistic bread (PLATES V, 6, VI, 12), the palm-leaf (PLATE X, 4), the star (PLATE V, 3, 6, 8), grapes? (PLATE IX, 3, 5), and water (PLATE X, 7, 12).—Cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae*, vol. I (1857–61), no. 982; *Bull. Crist.* VI (1868), pp. 88–91*; *Museo epigrafico Pio-Lateranense*, 1877, pl. xiv, 30, 31*; F. X. Kraus, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 214–216, 224–238*, vol. I, p. 522,

lettered stamps on the same bricks might, if frequent and systematic, enable us to use them for dating bricks on which they occurred alone; but the cases of such simultaneous occurrence proved to be very uncommon. They are Nos. 74, 75, 77, 79, 96, 234, 272, 336,—one each,—and two of No. 223. Seven of these belong to the time of Hadrian.

A perusal of the entire Table shows how remarkable are the number and the variety of stamps and other brickmarks contained in one short piece between two towers of the Aurelian Wall. The datable stamps range over more than four and a half centuries, beginning with the middle of the first of our era. Many of the bricks were consequently made in ages far apart, and probably most of them once served for buildings in the neighborhood. We collected all together 832 stamps and marks, but a part of the lettered stamps only could be chronologically arranged, as shown in the Diagram, Fig. 2.

The fact that brickstamps of 123 A.D. are the commonest of all was already known to Marini (1742–1815; cf. *op. cit.* p. 129, and H. Dressel, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1885, pp. 106, 107). The extraordinary number of stamps for Hadrian's time is probably due, in part at least, to an extraordinary amount of building, and not merely to a passing fashion of stamping a greater proportion of the bricks made; for the stamped bricks of the times of Pius and Severus, likewise periods of building-activity, are also numerous.

fig. 177; M. Armellini, *Il cimitero di S. Agnese*, 1880, pp. 167, 255, 268, 316; *Gli antichi cimiteri Cristiani di Roma e d' Italia*, 1893, pp. 271*, 454; H. Marucchi, *Éléments d'archéologie Chrétienne, Notions générales*, 1899, pp. 162, 165*, 166; *Itinéraire des catacombes*, 1900, p. 318*; W. Lowrie, *Monuments of the early church*, 1901, pp. 223, 224, 238*, 239, and figs. 8, 80*; G. Wilpert, 'La croce sui monumenti delle catacombe,' in *Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* VIII (1902), pp. 5–14, figs. 1, a–3, a, and 5, a, pls. vi, vii; *Roma sotterranea, Le pitture delle catacombe Romane*, etc., 1903, pl. 28, pp. 118, 182, p. 183, fig. 171, p. 426, fig. 40; A. Bacci, *Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* VIII (1902), p. 128, 2nd inscription;—*C.I.L.* X, no. 8042 (164)*; H. Cohen, *op. cit.* vol. III (1860), pl. xv, 200, and others; F. Cumont, *op. cit.* vol. II, figs. 8, 246, 293, pp. 257, 258, 293, 418; A. Tylor, *Archæologia*, XLVIII, 1 (1884), pp. 241–244, pl. xii, 5; R. P. Greg, *Archæologia*, XLVIII, 2 (1885), pp. 293–326*; J. Macdonald, *op. cit.* pl. xv, figs. 3, 4; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, vol. I (1893), p. 112; Chr. Blinkenberg, *Athen. Mitth.* XXIV (1899), pp. 379–397; *Inscr. Graec.* vol. IV (1902), pp. 186–190.

(b) *Monumenti inediti*, IX (1869–72), pl. xxxix*; G. Ghirardini, *Monumenti antichi*, VII (1897); G. Seure, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXVIII (1904), p. 217, fig. 14; E. Curtius and F. Adler, *Olympia*, Tafelband IV (1890); A. Conze, *Melische Thongefäße*, 1862, pls. iii, iv*; *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst*, 1870, pls. iv, a*, b*, v, 4*, vi, 1*; G. de Mortillet, *Le signe de la croix avant le Christianisme*, 1868; J. B. Waring, *Ceramic art in remote ages*, 1874, pls. 41*–44*; H. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Engl. ed., 1878, pl. xx, no. 197*; A. Furtwängler und G. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, 1885, *Mykenische Thongefäße*, 1886; W. H. Goodyear, *The grammar of the Lotus*, 1891, pp. 347–359, pl. lx*; K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im k. k. oester. Museum*, 1892, pl. i, 31*; H. Schmidt, *H. Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Alterthümer*, 1902, pls. vii, 5252*, 5248*, 5244*, viii, 5274*, 5276*, 5328; C. R. Smith, *Coll. ant.* vol. I (1848), pl. xxii, 9*, II–VII (1852–80); S. Wide, *Mittheilungen, Athen. Abth.* XXII (1897), fig. 10*.

E. von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Ober-oesterreich*, 1868; F. Keller, *The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe*, 2nd Engl. ed. 1878, pl. clxi, 3, 4; F. Sehested, *Fortidsminder og oldsager fra Egnen om Broholm*, 1878, pl. xxvii, 19, a*; J. Evans, *The ancient bronze-implements, weapons, and ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1881; J. Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nord-Europa*, 1882; J. J. A. Worsaae, *Danish arts*, 1882, figs. 153*, 181*, 182*, 189*; R. Munro, *The lake-dwellings of Europe*, 1890; W. G. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, 1895; O. Montelius, *Les Temps préhistoriques en Suède* (transl. S. Reinach), 1895; *Sur les sculptures de rochers de la Suède*, 1875, p. 8, fig. 12*; A. Issel, *Bull. di Paleontologia italiana*, XV (1889), pl. i; K. von den Steinen, *Prähistorische Zeichen und Ornamente*, *Festschrift für F. A. Bastian*, 1896, pp. 240–272*; W. C. Borlase, *The dolmens of Ireland*, 1897; S. Müller, *Nordische Alterthumskunde*, 1897; R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*, 1899.

(Some references, not given here, to periodicals will be found in Part II of the Table, column "Remarks.")

The classification of the bricks according to their thicknesses, and, when possible, also their dates, is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 3. Every group in it has a base-line of its own, recording thicknesses in millimetres, as given by the consecutive numbers 19–52 under the lowest and the highest of them. The vertical lines represent numbers of bricks, their units being indicated in the lateral scales. Bricks with both lettered and figured stamps are recorded twice, and shown by the thickened parts of vertical lines, the kinds of figures being indicated among the lettered stamps.

On scanning this diagram from below upward, a general trend of the vertical lines for the dated lettered stamps from the right to the left is apparent; that is, Roman bricks and tiles grew thinner, generally speaking, with the progress of time,—a fact already well known. It is interesting to observe further that, although the bricks were made of different thicknesses at all times, yet certain ones predominate, and that these predominant thicknesses usually represent simple fractions of the Roman foot, which equalled 296 mm. Bricks of other thicknesses, however, are sometimes also numerous: there are, for example, in Hadrian's time thirty-seven and twenty-nine bricks of 40 mm. and 35 mm. thickness, respectively.

The thickest brick of all (List No. 154) is of the first century. In the reign of Hadrian the predominant thickness is 37–38 mm., or $\frac{1}{8}$ Roman foot. In the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus it seems to be 33 mm., or $\frac{1}{9}$ Roman foot. The dated bricks of other times are not sufficiently numerous to permit a reliable conclusion.

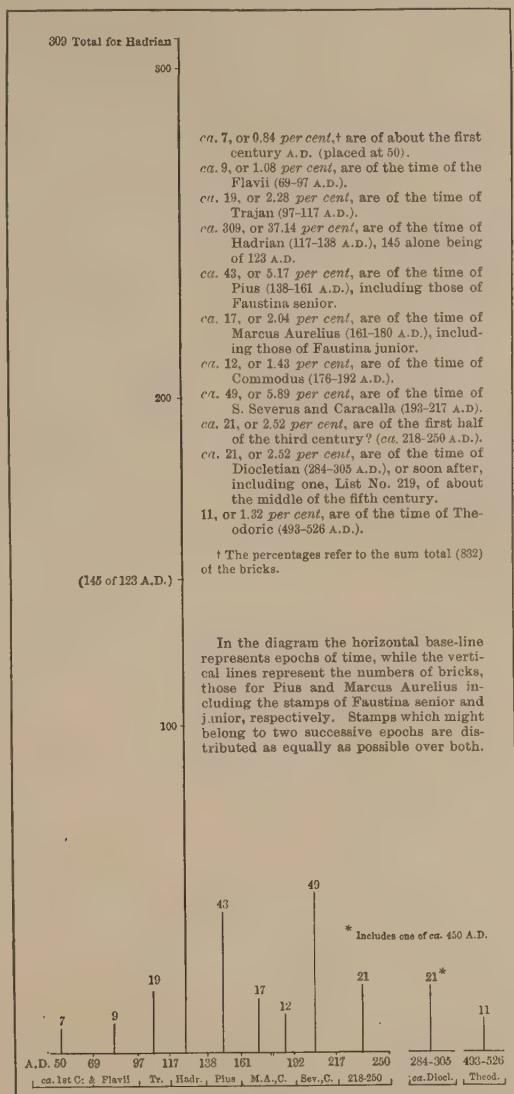


FIGURE 2.—DIAGRAM AND TABLE SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DATED STAMPS IN TIME

The predominant thickness of the undated lettered stamps is 35 mm., not a simple fraction of the Roman foot of 296 mm.; but the bricks of 37 and 27 mm., or $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$ Roman foot thickness, are also comparatively numerous.

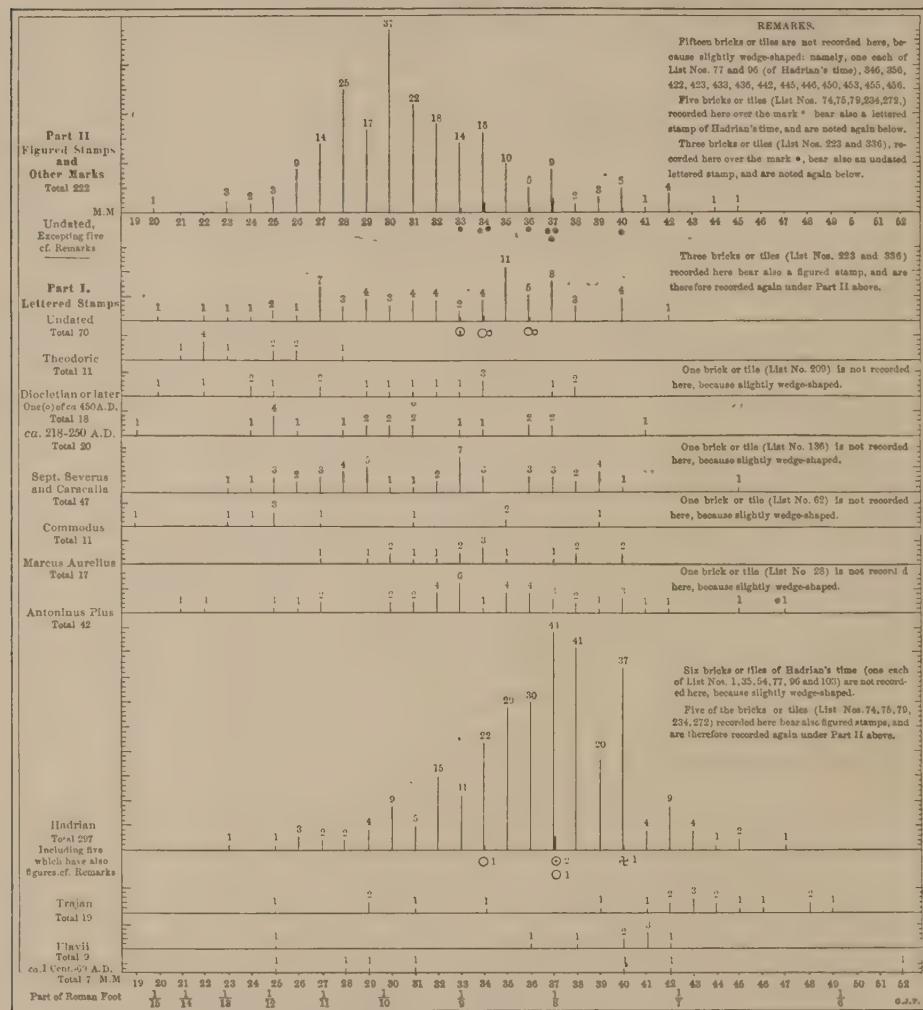


FIGURE 3.—DIAGRAM REPRESENTING THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STAMPED AND MARKED BRICKS ACCORDING TO THEIR THICKNESSES

The predominant thickness for the figured stamps is emphatically 30 mm., or practically $\frac{1}{10}$ Roman foot, from which,—in view of the facts just reviewed,—we may conclude, with some assurance, that most of them are probably of not earlier

date than about the first half of the third century. This inference seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of a few of the same and similar figures in the centre of certain lettered stamps (compare List Nos. 198, 203, 204, 206, 207, 213), which are assigned by G. B. Lugari (*op. cit.*, see p. 5, above), though for other reasons, to the same date.

It is probable that the great majority of the bricks of this collection were already quite old at the time of the original construction of the Aurelian Wall in 272—*ca.* 279 A.D. How many of them, if any, were used for the wall at that time it is, however, impossible to determine, as the piece of which we have examined the material appears to have been repaired a number of times in the Middle Ages. It may have been repaired, even largely reconstructed, with ancient material by Arcadius and Honorius as early as 402 A.D.

A. Nibby states in *Le Mura di Roma* (Rome, 1820), p. 358 (see p. 72, note 1), that the entire stretch of the Aurelian Wall from the Anfiteatro Castrense to the Porta San Giovanni shows characteristics of the time of Honorius; that the tower at the east end of the piece of fallen wall examined by us (the top of this tower fell or was torn down at the same time) was repaired repeatedly from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, and that the stretch of wall next following toward the west (the very piece of fallen wall studied by us) bore the inscription, IVLIVS III | PONT. MAX. This Pope was elected in 1550 and died in 1555. We did not see his inscription, and do not know when it was removed.

The large number of brickstamps found has enabled us in some cases to complete, elaborate, and slightly to correct the records of those which we found already noted in the *Corpus*. Up to the time of writing we have not seen recorded there any lettered stamps corresponding in part or whole to the following of our list: Nos. 10, 57, 76, 81, 83, 84, 87, 110, 147, 154, 168, 173, 179, 196, 201, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, and 232,—all together twenty-six kinds, not considering, of course, No. 233 and the many unidentified fragments, Nos. 234–336; but almost all of these probably belong to stamps already known.

It has been a great privilege for us, as members of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, to be allowed to collect and study freely the archaeological material here described. Therefore, in closing these introductory remarks, we wish to thank the Director-General of Fine Arts and Antiquities of Italy, Sig. Comm. Carlo Fiorilli, and the Director of Antiquities of the City of Rome, Professor Giuseppe Gatti, for their courtesy and assistance.

GEORGE J. PFEIFFER.
ALBERT W. VAN BUREN.
HENRY H. ARMSTRONG.

January, 1905.

TABLE OF STAMPS

PART FIRST:

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
1	○		EX · Pr · aiacianis · OP · DOL EX · of · cal · pRIMIT In centre, a pine-cone	about end of Hadrian	10 5 noted	671 ²
2	○		EX FIG ASTIVIANIS M VINIC FORTVN PÆTINO E APRONIAN In centre, COS	123	13	412
3	○		AVIOLA · ET · PANSA · COS M R LVPI · BRVT · FEST In centre, a wolf turned to the right	122	26	306 ¹
4	○		APRON · ET · PAET · COS M RVTL · T · BR In centre, a quadruped (wolf?) facing to the right	123	28, b	
5	□		SQVILLA · ET · TITIANO · COS EX · PR · STAT · MAXIM · SEVERI HADRIAN BRVT · EX · OF · MYRN	127	40	450
6	○		sTA · marCIVS · LVCIFER	Trajan	61	1038
7	○		» T · RAV · PAMP · EX · F · P · IS « CAEPION In centre,	Trajan	65	
8	○		ex · præD ARIÆ FADilla stati m IVCIFERI Caupon In centre,	ca. 123- 127	83, a	

ON BRICKS AND TILES

LETTERED STAMPS

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
Within the first and the second lines two concentric circles. The thickness of this brick varies uniformly: it is slightly wedge-shaped.	ca. 11 $10\frac{1}{2}$ - $11\frac{1}{2}$	33-39	buff	1	1
	ca. $10\frac{1}{2}$ ca. 10	29	brown	1	2
In <i>C.I.L.</i> there are no points in the second line. Within the first line two concentric circles. See note in <i>Marini</i> .	13-14 $12-12\frac{1}{2}$	33-35	red	3	3
In <i>C.I.L.</i> no point after ET. It states that the figure is a wolf, with his tail drawn in.	ca. 13 ca. 13	40	red	1	4
One of the handsomest stamps we know of. The letters are beautiful and exceptionally well cut. <i>C.I.L.</i> notes only eight examples, and in line 2 gives only the last point.	ca. 10 ca. 10 ca. 10	29-38	red	21	5
	13-14	48	buff	1	6
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives in the centre a small, horizontal palm-leaf, tip to the right, and the point after PAMP on the level of the others.	13-16 8-10	39-46	4 brown 1 red	5	7
Example lacks the figure in the centre, being defective.	11- $11\frac{1}{2}$	38	red	1	8

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
9	◎		<i>ex FIG ARRIAE FADILLAE pæTN·E APRONIAN</i> In centre, <i>O S</i>	123	87 2 noted	325
10	□		<i>ex · fig · arri · antONINI cAEPIONIANA SERVIAN III ET VARO COS</i> [Fig.: a boar]	134	92, b 3 noted	468
11	◎		» <i>ex · prædis · c · curia T1 · COSANI</i> « In centre, <i>caep</i>	ca. 123	97, a 4 noted	780 ²
12	◎		<i>EX PRÆD C · C · COSAN CÆPIONIAN SEX AFI AMAND PÆTIN E APRONAO</i> In centre, <i>soo</i>	123 ..	98	343 ³
13	○		<i>OP · d · d · f · d · I L MVN · CRESC ·</i> In centre, standing figure of Mercury turned to the left, holding in right hand a purse, in left the caduceus [at his feet a cock ?]	ca. 123	124	67 ¹
14	○		<i>ex · pr · dom lucil · o D · MunatIA</i> In centre, a panther running to the right. Over it a vine-branch	ca. 123	125	91
15	■		<i>O L · VALeri S E v e r i a</i>	beginning 2d cent.	163	1369 ⁴
16	◎		<i>OPVS DOliar ex pred dom · nt · aug EX figulinis domitIA</i> In centre, <i>leaf</i>	Commodus	155	218 ¹
17	○		<i>AVGVST · N · OP · Dol · ex · pr · doM</i> (sic) FOR DOMITIAnarV FIG · In centre, an eagle with spread wings (seen from the front) facing to the left		157	
18	◎		<i>ex PRÆD · FAVisnas · aug opv DOL · EX FIG · Domit</i> In centre, <i>Ma</i> in straight lines	Faustina junior	161	124

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives a point after PÆTN , and prints COS in a straight horizontal line.	10-11 10 8-10	38, 40	brown	2	9
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives SERVIANO on the authority of <i>Marini</i> , but the reading is doubtful (see note, <i>C.I.L.</i>). This example has SERVIAN and may be, consequently, another variant of <i>C.I.L.</i> 92. After COS occurs the figure of a boar running toward the right.	10	32	red	1	10
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives ¶ at the end of line 1.	14	37	brown	1	11
One point is wanting in the examples. <i>C.I.L.</i> has SOO in a horizontal line.	12-14 10-13 14-17	32-40	brown	8	12
The animal at the foot of Mercury is wanting from defectiveness of the example.	9-10	40	red	1	13
	12	38	brown	1	14
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives a point after the first L .	10-12	43	brown	1	15
<i>Marini</i> gives the reading incorrectly. Only one palm-leaf seen in example from defectiveness.	11-12	25	brown	1	16
In the first line AVGVST·N should stand after DOM . A note in <i>C.I.L.</i> states that this stamp seems to belong to the time of Commodus, but may also belong to the beginning of the reign of Severus.	10	28	brown	1	17
A distinct point after PRÆD in the examples. This is not given in <i>C.I.L.</i> or <i>Marini</i> .	12-13 10-11	37, 40	red, brown	2	18

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
19	○	OP·D·EX·PR· <i>aug·n·fl·domiti</i> ANAS· <i>Maiores</i> . In centre [a pine-cone]		163	177 ³	
20	○	OP DOL·EXR AVG M FIG <i>lin</i> (sic) DOMITIANA MAIOR In centre, a pine cone, pointing about 45° to the left of the vertical		164	174 ²	
21	○	EX FIG DOM MAIO DOMINOR NN In centre, a dolphin coiled about a trident		165	249 ²	
22	○	OPVS DOLIARE EX FIGLINIS DOMITIAN MAIORBV _S In centre,  a palm-leaf inverted		168 5 noted	800 ¹	
23	○	<i>ex·pr·domitiae lucillae eX·FIG·DOMIT</i> <i>MINORib op·dol·AEli·ALE</i> In centre, XANDRI 	ca. 138	171	72	
24	○	O DOL·EX·pr·d p·f luc·p·a·alex NIGro et·camer In centre, cos	138	172	494	
25	○	<i>op dol EX praED AVG N·Figl</i> <i>doMITIANAS MINOR.</i> In centre, head of sun with rays [and cap?], turned to ^{Severus} the right. Before it a flagellum		178	178	
26	○	<i>opus·DOLIAR·EX·praed·dd nn·</i> <i>ex fig DOMITianis minor</i> In centre [a scorpion with its tail turned toward the left]		180	250 ³	
27	○	OPV·DOL·DE PRAED DOM NN AVG EX FIG·VET CAEC AMANDAE In centre, a standing woman, looking to the left, and ^{Severus} holding in her left hand a cornucopia, in her right a palm-leaf		192	222	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
The centre is wanting in example from defectiveness. A note in <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, p. 54, states that the AVG N of this and the following inscription seems (on account of the shape of the letters and of the whole stamp) to be rather Severus than Commodus.	14	38	brown	1	19
The N after AVG is obliterated in the block. Regarding the other unusual letters in line 1, cf. note, <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 55, or <i>Marini</i> , p. 82. For date see remarks under No. 19 above. Noted also in <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> VII (1901), p. 136, No. 44.	13-14 10-11	27, 36	brown, buff	2	20
<i>C.I.L.</i> states (XV, 1, p. 55) that this stamp is certainly not of later date than the beginning of the time of Severus. Trident inverted.—One example almost complete.	12-13½	28-30	brown, red	4	21
<i>C.I.L.</i> states that it is doubtful whether this stamp is of the time of Marcus (Aurelius) or of Commodus.	ca. 10 ca. 9	32	buff	1	22
XANDRI around the palm-leaf in a circle. The figure of this stamp in the <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , 2d Ser., V (1901), Suppl., p. 176, apparently taken from Descemet, <i>op. cit.</i> title-page, or from Cagnat, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 311, does not quite agree with these examples and <i>C.I.L.</i> .—Moreover, while <i>C.I.L.</i> gives MINORIB , <i>Marini</i> has MINORIB .	11-12 11 11-12	26, 37	brown	2	23
Two concentric circles within the first line. Whether there are any within the second line could not be seen.	11½-12 10	35	brown	1	24
	10½-11½ 10½-11	33	brown	1	25
The figure in the centre is wanting from defectiveness. <i>Marini</i> gives the reading incorrectly. <i>C.I.L.</i> states that on account of the form of both stamp and letters this stamp belongs to the first years of Severus.	9-10 8-9	27	red	1	26
The figure in the centre is like the representation of Hilari-tas on coins (<i>C.I.L.</i>).	12-14 10-12	25-33	brown	6	27

LIST NO.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
28	○	<i>ex pre·fav·opus·dOLIARE</i> <i>A calpetani Verna</i> In centre, a palm-leaf, ♀ unsymmetrically placed		221, a	118 ¹	
29	○	EX F FVr q·aburnj·cxDICIAN ASIAtico II aQVIL In centre, COS		125	228	
30	○	OP DOL EX PR DOM AVG N FI GLINAS GENianaS Centre doubtful		beginning of Severus	237, a or b	15
31	○	I laNI·FEsti Centre doubtful [A Victory, turned to the right, holding a crown; a Severus basket? or altar, before her. C.I.L.]			239 4 noted	
32	○	<i>op dol ex pr C·FVL·PLaut pr pr c v c</i> <i>os II figl GENIA n I·la fe f</i> Centre missing [a lion running to the right]		203-205	240 2 noted	892 ²
33	○	O DOL·EX·FIG·GENIANIANIS (sic) CEION·CRESC·FEC In centre, ♂ a trident		Hadrian	243 4 noted	
34	○	GLAB T E torg·cos·ex·pR·CL·MAX ISiaCA In centre, a sistrum		124	249 5 noted	
35	○	EX·PR·CLAVDI·MAXIMI AB ISIS ♀ Centre blank		ca. 123-135	252	734
36	○	OPVS doliare ex figurINIS IVILI NIANIS aeliÆ SEVERÆ L C In the centre, Fortune turned to the left, holding in her left hand a cornucopia, in her right a rudder [before her, a wreath; behind her, a palm-leaf]		end 2d or beginning 3d cent.	256	946 ³

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
<i>Marini</i> gives the reading incorrectly. According to <i>C.I.L.</i> this stamp may be of the time of Faustina.	<i>ca.</i> 10½ <i>ca.</i> 10	31	brown	1	28
	<i>ca.</i> 14	34	brown	1	29
Example shows no point after GENIANAS . The centre is so defective that the figure cannot be clearly seen; but it seems to be a helmeted bust (of Minerva?) turned to the right, in front of which is a spear (<i>C.I.L.</i>). Orbiculus wanting.	13–14 11	34	brown	1	30
This fragment has a triangular point; therefore, if the text of No. 239, <i>C.I.L.</i> , is correctly represented, this fragment is either a variant of it, or belongs to some other stamp, perhaps the one recorded at the same place in note 3 thus: L·TRANI·FESTI . Letters rather large.	17–18	39	brown	1	31
<i>C.I.L.</i> has no points in line 1. Within each line two concentric circles. The two examples of <i>C.I.L.</i> are in Bologna.	11½–12	36	brown	1	32
GENIANIANIS surely stands for GENIANIS , <i>C.I.L.</i> — We did not observe that the A's have the unusual shape noted in <i>C.I.L.</i> Two of the points are on a lower level than the others. The point after CRESC is between the ends of the C.	11–12	35, 38	buff	2	33
This example has in line 1 a final X not in <i>C.I.L.</i> , whose record is defective at that point.	9–10	35	brown-red	1	34
<i>Marini</i> gives no points at all, and <i>C.I.L.</i> none after EX . The letters of the second line are decidedly larger than those of the first.	11–13 14–15	30–38	red	9	35
<i>Marini</i> gives the wrong reading IVLLI .	13 12½–13	38	buff	1	36

LIST NO.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 NO.	MARINI NO.
37	⌚	NICOMACHI DOMITI TVLLI In centre, a winged caduceus between two palm-leaves		93-108	261, a	
38	⌚	q · oppi veRECVNDI DOL · D I · dom · LVCILL ÆRON · ET PETINO (sic) In centre, COS		123	273	363
39	⌚	OP · SERVILI · FORVNATI · MACEDONA · Ex · pr T · STATILI · MAXIMI · SEVERI In centre, a palm-leaf		ca. 123-138	292	1286
40	⌚	EX · PR · STATILI MAXIMI OPVS MA CEDON · FORTVNAT Centre blank		ca. 123-138	298 4 noted	1308
41	⌚	Opus · figl · ex · pr · STA Maximi · F · F In centre, a quadruped, like a roebuck, turned to the right		ca. 123-138	300	1310 ³
42	⌚	IMP · cae · tro · avG (sic) Ex · figli · marc · DOLI C · CAL · faVORIS Trajan			313	21
43	⌚	Ex · figlinis · MARCIANIS C · CaLPETANI faVORIS DOliare In centre, a palm-leaf		Hadrian	315	678
44	⌚	c calpetani hERMET · D EX · FIG · CÆ · N pætino tE APRONIAN In centre, cOS		123	319	336
45	⌚	DOLIAR PR · Caes n f marC ANICETianl In centre, a palm-leaf		end of Hadrian	322	
46	⌚	opus dOL EX PRaed augg nn FIGI marCIAN FIGI ael felIX · In centre, a nude man [Hercules?] looking to the left, with right hand extended [sacrificing?]; in his left arm a club [above, a garland? to the right, a quiver? See C.I.L.]			324	236

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
The last I is a little shorter than the other letters.	12-13	34, 45	brown	2	37
In line 1 <i>Marini</i> gives DOMIT as another reading.	8-11	40	brown	1	38
	<i>ca.</i> 13 <i>ca.</i> 10	32	red	1	39
Within each line two concentric circles.	11-12 8-9	33-34	red 1 brown	5	40
	12 <i>ca.</i> 10	32	red	1	41
Lines 2 and 3 are less curved than line 1. Concerning TRO in line 1, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, p. 95. Some examples, says <i>C.I.L.</i> , have IMP (like this one, in which I and G of line 1 are 14 mm. high, while the other letters of line 1 are only 11 mm. high). <i>C.I.L.</i> does not note the larger G.	11-14 <i>ca.</i> 12	29	red	1	42
	11-12 10-11 $9\frac{1}{2}$	39-40	buff	2	43
Within each line two concentric circles.	11 $9\frac{1}{2}$ -10	40	buff	1	44
	12-13 10-11	28	brown	1	45
The figure in the centre is very indistinct from defectiveness. <i>C.I.L.</i> states that this stamp is rather of the beginning of the time of Severus, than of the time of Commodus.	<i>ca.</i> 12	32	red	1	46

LIST NO.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 NO.	MARINI NO.
47	○		VERO II COS <i>naev lapi</i> Centre blank	121	344 4 noted	
48	○		aVIOLA COS NAEV In centre, LVPI	122	345 3 noted	307 ¹
49	○		dol EX PRAED CAES N C <i>aquili aprilis</i> PÆTINO ET APRO <i>niano</i> In centre, C S O	123	359	322 419, a ²
50	○		EX·OFIC·OP·DOL·EX·PR·CAES·N <i>(sic)</i> Q·OPPI·PROCVL In centre, a pine-cone surrounded by leaves	Hadrian	364	269, a
51	○		ex·pr cAES·OP·DOL·Q·P·P <i>¶</i> TORQ E·IVL COS Centre blank	148	369	506 ²
52	○		op·dol·ex·praED AVG n fig oceanaS·MAiores <i>(sic)</i> In centre, a wheel of eight spokes	Severus	371, a	185 ¹
53	○		op·dol ex·praED AVG N fig oceanas mAIOres In centre [a wheel of six spokes]	Severus	371, b	185 ¹
54	○		I bruttidi augVSTAIS FEG Op do <i>(sic)</i> ex fig og m CÆ N Pæt <i>(sic)</i> In centre, cos	123	373	422 ²
55	○		L·BRVTTIDI·AVgustalis·fec ♀ OPVS DOL·EX·sic caes·n <i>(sic)</i> ·PROP ♀ E AMbI In centre, COS	126	375	446 ¹
56	○		EX·P·ClauDI·CELSI AP·ET·PAE·COS Centre blank	123	393 5 noted	338
57	○		GLABRIONE E TORquato cos? EX FIGL CL celsi? Centre blank?	124		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST NO.
<i>C.I.L.</i> records a specimen having LVP<i>I</i>.	12	30	brown	1	47
The second line is straight. <i>Marini</i> wrongly gives NATEV.	11-12 11-12	26, 29 32	red or brown	3	48
<i>C.I.L.</i> and <i>Marini</i> give COS in a straight line.	12 12½	45	brown	1	49
Within each line two concentric circles. Concerning the place of EX·OFIC see note in <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, p. 108. They should stand at the end of line 1.—The point after OFIC is between the ends of the C . <i>C.I.L.</i> places the point after OP on a level with the others, and gives a special A in CAES.	11-13 10-11½	27-36	brown or red	7	50
Within each line two concentric circles. At the end of line 1 sometimes a small leaf (<i>C.I.L.</i>); the last point in line 1 stands low.	11½-12 11-11½	34	brown or buff	2	51
Example has only 2 of the spokes; but their angle, 45°, shows that there must be 8. MAIORES with a small O . <i>Marini</i> , stamp No. 176 is this one wrongly recorded (Dressel).	11½-12½ 10-12	31	brown	1	52
Centre of example wanting from defectiveness. A clear point after praeD , placed high, and a large O in MAIORES distinguish this stamp from the preceding one.	ca. 12½	23	brown	1	53
<i>C.I.L.</i> has Do , and a dash over the N .—The brick has a uniformly varying thickness: it is slightly wedge-shaped.	ca. 12 ca. 11	32-34	brown	1	54
<i>Marini</i> gives no punctuation-marks, and has FIG in line 2. In some specimens, perhaps, AVCVSTALIS in line 1. (<i>C.I.L.</i>)	ca. 13 ca. 10 ca. 10 7-9	37	red	1	55
Within each line two concentric circles.	11 9½-11	40	red	1	56
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 395, and <i>Marini</i> , No. 427².—In the centre no letters or figure distinctly visible. PLATE II, 4.	8-9	33	brown	1	57

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
58	○	OPVS DOL · EX · PR · fauS Aug ex fig PONT LAN FESTVS In centre, an oblique palm-tree	Faustina junior	399	122 ²	
59	○	EX PR AVRELI CAES ET FAVSTIN AVC (sic) OPVS DOL EX FICL PONTI (sic)	LFP	401	123 ¹	
60	○	OP DOL EX PRaed aug n FIG LIN PONTIclanaS In centre, fragment of a figure [star or sun between horns of crescent moon]	Severus	404	188	
61	○	OP DOL EX PR M AVRELI ANTO NINI AVG N PORT LIC In centre, a Victory, turned to the left, holding in her left hand a palm-leaf, in her raised right a crown. Before her an altar (or vase?)	Caracalla?	408, d	109	
62	○	NEGOT · MEtilio proCVLO FIGul · zos an EX · FIG · propetlaniS · In centre [apparently a bull running to the right]	about Commodus	418 5 noted	1053	
63	○	e · x · prAEdis heredum · C · C · VV PASSeni (sic) ae petroniae · neg · vaL · CATVLlo · In centre, C surrounded by a crescent moon and five stars (C.I.L.)	about Commodus	419	1111	
64	○	EX · PR · FLAVI · APRI FIG · PVBLIL OP · RVSTI FELIC In centre [a disk or sphere]	about middle of 2d cent.	422	871	
65	○	IMP · M · aur · antonin · aug · oPVVS DOLI AR · EX · figul · pVBLILIA · In centre [a boar (or a stag, C.I.L. 424, b) running to the right]	a or b	424, a or b	108 ¹	
66	○	OP · DOL · EX FIGL · PVBLILIANIS PR AEMILIAE · SEVERAE C F In centre, Mercury with cap?, looking back toward the left, holding in his left hand a cornucopia, in his out- stretched right a money-bag; before his feet a tortoise	end of 2d cent.	427, a		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST NO.
The palm-tree is inverted; its root-end points about 45° to the left from the vertical. O slightly smaller in PONT.	12 9-10	33	brown	1	58
For proposed interpretations of LFP, see note, C.I.L. p. 119. Not accurately recorded by Marini.	7-11 9-9½ 11	30-35	red, buff, or brown	5	59
In some examples there seems to be no dash over the N. (C.I.L.)	11-13 11	33, 39	brown or buff	2	60
One of the specimens, which is rather imperfect, might equally well be C.I.L. 408, a, b, c, or e. Regarding the Portus Licini, cf. Marini, pp. 55, 56 and C.I.L. p. 37. The date is discussed in C.I.L. p. 121.	11-13 9-12	29-45	brown or red	6	61
Within each line two concentric circles. Punctuation almost like that given by Marini, but C.I.L. has no point after NEGOT and after PROPETIANIS. The figure in the centre is wanting from defectiveness.—One brick is wedge-shaped.	ca. 12 ca. 12	24 and 25-37	brown or buff	2	62
Two stars and the letter F, also a part of the crescent, are wanting in the examples from defectiveness. There is a distinct point after the first C, not noted in C.I.L. The O in CATVLLO is small. C(larissimae) F(eminae) are placed in a horizontal line by C.I.L.	11-13½ 10 10	23, 31	brown	2	63
The point after FIG is within the letter G; the point after OP is low. The figure in the centre is wanting from defectiveness. Marini does not indicate points. Two concentric circles within line 1.	9-10 ca. 9	32-36	brown or buff	4	64
The figure in the centre and the punctuation-points are wanting from defectiveness. The stamps a and b differ in both figure and punctuation. The date is doubtful; cf. note, C.I.L. p. 128.	ca. 12	36	brown	1	65
The upper part of the figure is missing in the examples from defectiveness. We did not observe that the O in OP is defective as shown in C.I.L. Within each line two concentric circles.	11-11½ 8-8½	34	brown	2	66

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
67	○		<i>op dol · ex · fig · pub · DE · PR · AEM · Seve neg · iuniae · antoniaes ·</i> In centre [a Victory holding a crown; before her an altar?]. Cf. C.I.L.	end of 2d cent.	430	545 548 ³
68	○		<i>de quintianis · IMP · TRAI cae · aug gER · DAC</i>	103-117	439	4 noted
69		Impressed	APRON ET PAE COS □ FESTI · D · Q □	123	444	3 noted
70		Impressed	APRON ET PAE COS □ MARTIAL · D · Q □	123	445	3 noted
71		Impressed	APRON ET PAE COS □ RESTiTVT · D · Q □	123	446	
72		Impressed	APRON ET PAE COS □ SVCCes · d · q □	123	447	4 noted
73		Impressed	aprON ET PAE COS □ prIMITIVI Q □	123	450	3 noted
74		Impressed	APRON ET PAET COS POMP VIT EX PR o ANNI VERI QVINT ○	123	454, b	395 ³
75		Impressed	○ □ ASIAT II et aquil COS d r d	125	458	5 noted
76		Impressed	ASAT I----- COS -----	125		
77			EX PR AGAT AVg · I · q? POMP · IANVAR pæti ET · APRONIANO cos (Impressed figure)	123	465, b	316 ³
78		Impressed	apron et pAET COS o p P B SALAR o ex fñGL ANNI VERR	123	479, a	318

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST No.
The example is very defective. Punctuation-points and the figure are wanting.	ca. 11	27	brown	1	67
The example lacks the palm-leaf and the punctuation-points from defectiveness. I in IMP is 12 mm. high; the other letters of line 1, so far as preserved, are 10-10½ mm. high.	10-12 ca. 9	25	brown	1	68
We found eight examples of this rare stamp. The points are square.	ca. 14 ca. 14	36-41	buff or brown	8	69
We found ten examples of this rare stamp. The points are square.	12-14 12-14	36-40	brown or buff	10	70
C.I.L. gives T V T as separate letters. Only six examples are noted there. The points are square.	12-13	34-43	brown or buff	6	71
The points are square.	ca. 12 ca. 14	38	buff	1	72
One example shows that the last letter is Q: C.I.L. leaves it doubtful.	13-14 13-14	40-42	buff or brown	3	73
Line 2 is wrongly recorded by Marini.—On one brick only under the middle of the stamp at a distance of 23 mm. is a slightly impressed disk, 23 mm. in diameter. PLATE III, 10, which is inverted by mistake.	ca. 13 ca. 13 ca. 13	34-38	red, buff, or brown	10	74
Near the stamp over II is a slightly impressed disk, 31 mm. in diameter.	ca. 11½	37	red	1	75
Perhaps C.I.L. 458 (possibly also C.I.L. 396) misspelled. PLATE IX, 7.	ca. 13	39	brown	1	76
Under the middle of the legend is an impressed figure close to the letters. PLATE III, 12, which is inverted by mistake. The brick has a uniformly varying thickness: it is slightly wedge-shaped.	8-10 8-10 8-10	34-37	red	1	77
	ca. 14 ca. 14 ca. 14	38	buff	1	78

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
79	Impressed		PAET ET Apr cos EX P IVI eut(a) sal	123	487, b or c	381 381, a ²
80	Impressed		aPR·ET·PAE·C a·g·S·S D·F·I·F	123	491 1 noted	
81	Impressed		apr et pAE·C a g s s d F·I·S	123		
82	Impressed		A·GAB·SVC·sal·d c?	ca. 123-134	495?	554?
83	Impressed		a gab·suC·SAL	ca. 123-134		
84	Impressed		a gab sVC SAL	ca. 123-134		
85	Impressed		APR ET PAet cos·p p b SALAR EX fig g t t t •	123	500, a	
86	Impressed		marcell et CELS II COS ex pr · ulp · ulPIAN SAL	129	507, b	457 ¹
87	Impressed		---- PR ----- ---- VLP VLP -----	ca. 129		
88	Impressed		SERVIANO III cos SAL EX PR 1 c iuvan	134	515, a	478
89	Impressed		SAL:EX PR tre.	Hadrian	525, o	
90	Impressed		eX F DOMIT DOM SVLP pAETIN ET APRON COS	123	549, a	368 ³
91	Impressed		eX F DOMIT DOM svlp paET ET APRon cos	123	549, b	368 ³

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Over the middle of the inscription, touching the block-outline, is a slightly impressed disk of 31 mm. diameter with a small round hole of 6 mm. diameter in the centre.	ca. 14	37	buff	1	79
The sole example recorded in <i>C.I.L.</i> was found on the Palatine Hill and is deposited in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme at Rome. (<i>C.I.L.</i>)	ca. 15	38	brown	1	80
Not recorded in <i>C.I.L.</i> Compare with its numbers 490–494. Between the ends of the lines at the right and the outline of the block there is a blank space, 18 mm. wide.	14–14½ 14–14½	34	brown or red	3	81
In both examples the point after A is placed high. <i>C.I.L.</i> has it at the middle of the letters, which are unusually tall and slender.—These fragments might belong to List No. 83.	ca. 21	37, 42	buff or brown	2	82
The letters are unusually tall and slender. This stamp is, therefore, a variant of <i>C.I.L.</i> 496 (<i>Marini</i> , 555).	ca. 20	38	brown	1	83
The letters are about 5 mm. taller than in No. 83, of which this stamp is probably a variant. Cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> 496 (<i>Marini</i> , 555). There is no point after SVC .	ca. 25	40	red	2	84
The meaning of GTTT is not known.	ca. 15	40	brown	1	85
In line 2 <i>Marini</i> recorded VLPIANIS·AL . Some examples of this stamp seem to have VLPIANI and SAI . (<i>C.I.L.</i>)	ca. 13	34	brown	1	86
No stamp with this combination of letters seems to be recorded in <i>C.I.L.</i> Compare its Nos. 504–509.	ca. 14	37	red	1	87
	ca. 15 ca. 14	35	red	1	88
Two short dashes or dots after SAL , perhaps punctuation-marks. As there is no mention of such in <i>C.I.L.</i> , this stamp may be a variant. The letters are unusually large.	ca. 22	37	brown	1	89
	ca. 12½ 14–15	35–36	brown or red	2	90
	ca. 13	32	red	1	91

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
92	◎		SEVERO · et · arrian cos · ex · FIGL Dom domit	ca. 120- 124?	552	304
93		Impressed	paet et APR COS ex fig cl IIIB SVL	123	559, a	404 ²
94		Impressed	apr ET PAE COS ex f a vil · ALEXS	123	560	
95	◎		VILLI Alexandri SVlpices	ca. 123	561 4 noted	
96		Impressed	SERVIANO III COS (sic) EX F VII AVG SVLPIC	134	562	482
97		Impressed	paetin et apronia m vinic paNTAG SVLP	123	563, a or b	414 ¹
98		Impressed	PAETIN ET apronia M VINIC PANTAG sul(p)	123	563, b-f, i, k	414 ¹ or 415 ¹
99		Impressed	paetin et aproni(a) m vinic pANTAG SVL	123	563, i or k	414 ¹
100		Impressed	vin PVN Snt ? ?	ca. 123	565, a, e, g, k, or n?	1396 ³
101	◎		EX · OFIC · CAEsaris II OP · SVLPICIA	Hadrian	568	
102	□		SVLPICIA aell · SILVA	apparently Hadrian	570	1314 ¹
103		Impressed	SVL · ANIN CA · L · F (sic)	about Hadrian	571 4 noted	
104		Deeply Impressed	SVL · ANIN	about Hadrian	572 2 noted	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Marini records a stamp with ARRIANO. Cf. C.I.L. p. 162.	13-14 11-12	42	brown	1	92
Line 2 is wrongly recorded by Marini.	14-15	37-38	brown	2	93
As points are absent, this fragment represents the variant noted in C.I.L. 560, 1-3, and 5, which has ALEXS at the end of line 2.	14-16	37	red	1	94
	ca. 10	23		1	95
One example has III instead of II, and this variant has also over the inscription a slightly impressed disk about 20 mm. in diameter with a hole in the centre. Marini gives III in line 1, and a similar figure with Nos. 383, 396, and 462.	15-17 ca. 15	31-37	brown or red	8	96
C.I.L. notes six examples of 563, a, and a few of 563, b. One of the latter may have APRO and SVL.	ca. 15	37	brown	1	97
This example may be any one of seven variants under C.I.L. 563.	ca. 16	35	brown	1	98
This fragment might also belong to C.I.L. 563, b, 5, if that stamp is correctly reported.	15	32	brown	1	99
The letters are unusually tall and slender. We observed only the single line of letters noted. Our example agrees in that respect with Marini's No. 1396 ⁸ .	25-28	32	brown	1	100
The second dot in line 1 is within the C. There may be a variant of this stamp with SVLPICIA in line 2. Within each line two concentric circles.	14 11½-12	32	red	1	101
We did not observe that the A in SILVA has the unusual form given in C.I.L.	10-11	30	brown	1	102
A round dot and a square dot in line 2, as noted in C.I.L. Compare Marini, No. 1402 ⁴ . The meaning of the stamp is doubtful.—One brick is slightly wedge-shaped.	15-16	32-35 39	brown or red	2	103
The present example is a perfect specimen of this rare stamp.	12-14	38-40	brown or red	4	104

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
105		Impressed	<i>figL CAEC QVINT</i> ¶ <i>t FL ROMANI SVLP</i>	Hadrian	576, b	
106		Impressed	TI CLA BLA SVL	Hadrian	578, a	
107			<i>cl heR SVLP</i>		580, c? 1 noted	
		Impressed		Hadrian		
108		Impressed	-----SVL-----	Hadrian	582, b? 5 noted	
109		Impressed	OΣ·ινσ	Hadrian	582, b?	
110		Impressed	ΣΟ SVL	Hadrian		
111		Impressed	COS AMB SVL	Hadrian	583, b	762 ¹
112		Impressed	C CVL DIA SVI or uJ	Hadrian	585, b, c, or d	776 ¹
113		Impressed	C VILLI CRES SV	Hadrian	593	1392 ⁴ 1393 ¹
114		Impressed	VIN SAL SV	about Hadrian	595, b	1402 ⁵ 1416 ¹
115		Impressed	PHIL Sul	about Hadrian	597	1120 ¹
116		Impressed	ruFI SVL	about Hadrian	599, c	1167 ²

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST NO.
The known impressions of this stamp seem to have been made with different blocks. (<i>C.I.L.</i>)	15-17	33-38	brown or buff	5	105
The letters are unusually tall and slender. In one of the examples the V of the inscription has this shape: 	30-33	34-39	brown	3	106
The letters are unusually large. See note in <i>C.I.L.</i> of an apparently similar stamp, based on a manuscript: Visconti cod. Paris. Lat. 9697, f. 49. traditur: CLHERSVIE videtur fuisse: CL HER SVLP	ca. 20	41	brown	1	107
The letters are unusually large, clumsy and ill-made. As <i>C.I.L.</i> does not mention these facts, this fragment may be a variant of the stamp there noted.	ca. 20	38, 40	red or brown	2	108
The letters are decidedly larger than in the preceding stamp, No. 108. If that is <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 582, b, this stamp would be a variant of it.	25-30	37	brown	1	109
The letters are unusually large. Between O and S there may be a point. The fragment 3 recorded under <i>C.I.L.</i> 582, b may belong to this stamp, but in that case it is printed upside down. PLATE II, 14.	26-29	32	brown	1	110
The letters are unusually large. There are several distinct variants of this stamp differing in the size and shape of them. It is wrongly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	Var. 1 ca. 20 Var. 2 ca. 23 Var. 3 ca. 26	36-38 36-40 36-37	brown buff, red, or brown red	4 7 2	111
The letters are unusually large.	32-33	35-36	red or brown	2	112
The letters are unusually large. Incorrectly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	25-27	35-37	brown	4	113
The letters are unusually large. Incorrectly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	27-29	36-39	brown or buff	4	114
The letters are unusually large. Incorrectly recorded by <i>Marini</i> . Only seven examples noted in <i>C.I.L.</i>	ca. 28	40	red	1	115
The letters are unusually large. Not a common stamp. In some examples the letter R, being badly made, looks like P (<i>C.I.L.</i>); <i>Marini</i> , therefore, noted PVFI.	21-22 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	buff	1	116

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
117	○	EX FG TEMPEŚNS ABRN CÆDICIA P S F PÆTIN E APRONĀ In centre, SOS		123	604, c 2 noted	314 ¹
118	○	ex pr lucillae veri figVLINIS terentian opV L·S·F· In centre, ■■■		ca. 145-155	617	101
119	○	OP DOL EX PR aug n FIG TERE NT L AELIO phIDELE In centre, an eagle with spread wings, looking to the left and seen from the front		Severus	625	194 196 ²
120	○	op dol ex pr aug n FIG TERENT L aeli II secVND E APRIL In centre, an inverted vase [flowers issue from it]; on each side, an erect panther touching the flowers with a forefoot [and seeming to lick them]		Severus	626	195 ¹
121	○	¶ teg · tun · dol · eutychHVS · SE · iuliae · proculÆ In centre, ■■■ a palm-leaf		ca. 123	647	940 ²
122	○	TONNEIana · de · figlin Vicciānis		about middle of 1st cent.	657, b? 3 noted	
123	○	TONNEI · de · figlin Vicciānis		about middle of 1st cent.	659, c	
124	○	VICCIana · d figl tonn (sic) EI Apolinaris In centre [a bucranium or a head of a calf on its side]		about middle of 1st cent.	661, a 4 noted	866 ¹
125		Impressed	frucDVNOM		Hadrian 682 4 noted	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
The record in <i>C.I.L.</i> is based on two fragments, one of which is in the Museum at Naples, No. 2165 (?), 5680. Our example is complete, although not well preserved; compare the reduced fac-simile on p. 5. Incorrectly recorded by <i>Marini</i> . Regarding P S(ervilius) F(irmus) see the interesting note under <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 232.	11½-12 10½-12 11-12	38	red	1	117
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives no point after F . <i>Marini</i> gives no punctuation-points at all. He states (p. 368) that L S F may be L S(ervilius) F(ortunatus) .	ca. 11	36	brown	1	118
The eagle's feet are over the orbiculus. Within each line two concentric circles.	11-12 9-10	26-37	brown or red	6	119
The cusps of the crescent are obtuse, which is unusual: they are not so noted in <i>C.I.L.</i> Perhaps this stamp is a variant.	10-11 10-12	24-33	brown	3	120
<i>Marini</i> wrongly records an upright palm-leaf in the centre.	ca. 14	40	brown	1	121
VICCI AIS in a straight horizontal line (as the stamp is here placed) across the centre and surrounded by line 1. The O is smaller, only 13 mm. high. <i>C.I.L.</i> may not have recorded this stamp and the following one (List No. 123) consistently; hence our change in notation. Cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, pp. 193 and 194.	ca. 16 smaller	25	buff	1	122
The O is even here a little smaller than the neighboring letters, being 15 mm. high. VICCI AIS is placed as in the preceding stamp.	ca. 17 smaller	28	brown	1	123
The O in TONN is smaller than the adjoining letters. Wrongly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	ca. 14 ca. 9	29	brown	1	124
As <i>C.I.L.</i> does not state that the letters are unusually large, this stamp may be a variant not recorded by it.	23-24	40	buff	1	125

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
126	○	IVLIVS FELix · de VIA SALARIA EX P · IVN · R · ET · R · CAP Centre blank		Hadrian	683	947 ⁴
127	○	OP · DOL · EX · FIGLIN · CAES N C · CALP · MNEST		138?	708, a	271 ²
128	○	OPVS DOLIARE ex · praed faVS AVG N CALVI CresCEN In centre, a nude crowned boy or man, inverted, looking to the right, standing on a globe		Faustina junior?	726	115 ³
129	○	OP DOL EX PR Vmi · quad et aN FAS EX FI sex ap silV In centre, a bust of Mercury with petasus, turned to the right; in front of him, a purse [behind him, the caduceus]		about middle of 2d cent.	731, b	131 ³
130	○	ex praed m aurel ANTO <i>nini</i> COmm ex of suce <i>S</i> (sic) In centre, ■■■		Commodus?	741	111 ¹ 1448
131	○	OPVS DOLiarf fx praEDIS AVG N (sic) C COMini sariNIANI (sic) In centre, a pine-cone ■ between two palm- ■ leaves			754, b	169 ³
132	○	EX praedis aug noS · EX F Pompei · hELI In centre [three palm-leaves]			757	187 ²
133	○	ex · prAE · AVG · SES · PON · eli (sic) In centre, three ■■■ palm-leaves			758	
134	○	OPVS DOLIARE EX PREDIS D N In centre, a lion running to the right		about Commodus?	760, a	204
135	○	OPus · doliare · ex pRED Domini · n <i>t</i> · AVG In centre [a dog, turned to the left]		Commodus? or beginning of Severus?	762, a	214 ³

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Line 2 is wrongly recorded by <i>Marini</i> , who also omitted the point in line 1.	12-13 <i>ca.</i> 12	38, 42	red	2	126
Perhaps not quite correctly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -11 10	37, 38	buff or red	2	127
<i>Marini</i> records FAV. Within each line two concentric circles. The objects which the figure in the centre holds in its hands are doubtful in our examples: (cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> : in the left a dolphin (?), in the right a spear or a sceptre).	<i>ca.</i> 10 <i>ca.</i> 9	38	brown	2	128
We did not observe that the letter M in line 1 has the unusual shape given in <i>C.I.L.</i> <i>Marini</i> wrongly records the figure in the centre. <i>M. Ummidius Quadratus</i> was consul in 167 A.D.; <i>Annia Cornificia Faustina</i> , a sister of Marcus Aurelius, was his wife (<i>C.I.L.</i>).	10-12 <i>ca.</i> 10	22	brown	1	129
A small O in OF. For remarks on the order of line 2 (which might be EX OF SVCES COMM), and the date, cf. note in <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 219 and p. 204.	14-15	35	brown	1	130
On account of the inscription, <i>C.I.L.</i> considers this stamp to be of a date not later than about the time of the emperor Marcus (Aurelius).	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13 9	27-33	red or buff	4	131
On account of the inscription and shape, this stamp is probably of about the time of Marcus (Aurelius). The first palm-leaf in the centre is upright; the other two are inverted (<i>C.I.L.</i>). Line 2 is incorrectly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	<i>ca.</i> 11	34	red	1	132
The point after AVG is low. A small I at the end of line 1. <i>C.I.L.</i> gives horizontal palm-leaves. Surrounding the inscription a single circle, inside of it two concentric circles. <i>C.I.L.</i> considers this stamp (of which it notes only six examples) to be of the time of the emperor Marcus (Aurelius).	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13	34	red	1	133
<i>C.I.L.</i> and <i>Marini</i> give no dashes over D and N, though <i>Marini</i> notes DOM N̄ as another reading. This stamp hence appears to be a variant of <i>C.I.L.</i> 760, a.	11-15	25	brown or buff	2	134
The figure is wanting from defectiveness. <i>Marini</i> gives N̄ in line 2.	<i>ca.</i> 13 11-12	35	buff	1	135

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
136	○		OPVS DOLIARe eX PRE DOmini · n̄ auG · In centre [figure of a boar running to left]	Severus ?	762, b	213 ² ?
137	○		ex praedis doMINI NO Stri augVSTI In centre, fragment of a bird. (See note in Remarks)	Commodus ? or beginning of Severus ?	764	215
138	○		opus dolIARe · EX PREDIS AuguSTORVM NN In centre, a winged caduceus	about Commodus ?	766 4 noted	225 ²
139	○		· de praEDIs · DomINORVM · nosTROR · AVGG In centre, an inverted bust of Minerva or, Rome? helmeted, looking to the right; in front of it a spear	Commodus ? or beginning of Severus ?	773	253 ¹
140	○		op · dol ex pr dOM N̄N AVGg titiaeS RVFINAes In centre, a lizard	beginning of Severus	774	254
141	○		EX PRAEDIS M · AEMILI PROCVLI D o	ca. 136-137 ?	780, a 2 noted	553 ⁴
142	○		ex praedIS M AEMILI proCLl In centre, o d	ca. 136-137 ?	780, b	553 ⁴
143	□		SEX · ANNI AProDISI	1st cent.	795, a	581 ¹
144	○		M FABI LICYMNI EX P AN ver APR · et paetin In centre, cos	123	800 1 noted	
145		Impressed	apRO ET PAE COS m fab LICYMNI	123	801	374 ¹

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
The figure is wanting from defectiveness. The stamp recorded by <i>Marini</i> has PR and N, and may, therefore, not be identical with this one.—Note the varying thickness of the brick: it is slightly wedge-shaped.	11-12	31-20 at insc.	brown	1	136
<i>C.I.L.</i> records an eagle with spread wings, seen from the front, looking to the left, holding in his beak a crown. Whether or not he is seated on some object is not known.	15 18-14	36	buff	1	137
These AVGVSTI may be the emperor and his consort: they are not necessarily two emperors. (<i>Marini</i> , p. 95, quoted in <i>C.I.L.</i>)	ca. 13 ca. 11½	39	brown	1	138
The points visible on this imperfect example of the stamp are triangular. <i>Marini</i> , No. 253, has PRAEDIIS and NOSTRORVM. See Remarks under No. 138.	ca. 13 ca. 12	27	brown	1	139
See Remarks under No. 138.	11-12 9-10½	40	red	1	140
In the centre of the example a fragment of the O is visible beside the palm-leaf which <i>Marini</i> recorded as upright. One example of this rare stamp is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (<i>C.I.L.</i>). Regarding the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 229.	12-13 11-12	26, 30	red	2	141
We did not observe in our example the unusual shape of the A's in line 1 as noted in <i>C.I.L.</i> The latter gives in the centre an upright palm-leaf with O and D respectively to the left and right of it. Regarding the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 229.	ca. 14 ca. 12	29	brown	1	142
The record of <i>Marini</i> is incomplete. Also noted in <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> II (1896), p. 62, No. 30.	ca. 17	42	brown	1	143
The sole example noted in <i>C.I.L.</i> is now in the Museum at Vienna (<i>Sign. n. 11 = 194, coll. Ambras</i>).	12-13 ca. 11	37, 40	brown	2	144
<i>Marini</i> gives line 2 incorrectly.	15-16	33-37	buff or brown	3	145

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
146	□		L · ANTONIVS S VM FILON (sic)		821, a	593 ^a
		Small and impressed		Hadrian?		
147	.	Impressed	SEXAN <i>A</i> TIPI?	Hadrian?	823	
148		Impressed	apron et PAE COS □ aprONIS □	123	827 2 noted	351, b ¹
149	○		c · nnnN FORt PRIM	about In centre, two letters  surrounded by a collar- like blank band, and two concentric circles	middle of 2d cent.	1083 ^a
150		Impressed	APR ET PAE COS e X f I M P C T H A s	123	893	
151		Impressed	apron et PAE COS □ calLISTI □	123	898 3 noted	
152		Impressed	APRON ET pae cos □ C A S t i □	123	920 1 noted	
153	○		ex pr coeLI · PHILeti facit · mAGNio	Hadrian In centre, 	944	747
154	□		PARIDIS · CN · DOMIT	In centre, APRI inverted, in a straight line parallel to the straight side of the stamp	?-59 See Remarks	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Dimensions of frame 50 × 19 mm. PLATE VIII, 12. The figure is upside-down by mistake, because it was not understood at the time the photograph was made. C.I.L. gives SYMFILON, but states that in some specimens the Y hardly differs from V. In our example it looks exactly like V, for which reason we have so recorded it. Marini gives SYMFILON; also P. Crostarosa, <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> VII (1901), p. 143, No. 82. This stamp exists in impressions made by divers bronze seals (C.I.L.).	ca. 7 ca. 7	25	brown	1	146
The letters are unusually large. PLATE II, 13.	20–21	38	brown	1	147
There is space in line 2 for oblongs, but C.I.L. has a hatched square at the beginning. Cf. Marini, No. 351, a, said to have the same figures, □ and □, as No. 351, b.	ca. 14	40	red	1	148
C. Nunnidius Fortunatus is named also on stamps of 123–142 A.D. The date of the present stamp is based upon the lettering (C.I.L.). The meaning of PP is doubtful.	ca. 16½	26	brown	1	149
C.I.L. gives a hatched I in line 2, and states that this letter is indistinct in all specimens. We did not observe this to be the case in our examples. The interpretation of line 2 is doubtful. Cf. note in C.I.L. p. 252.	14–15	34–36	red or brown	3	150
	ca. 14	35	brown	1	151
The sole example of this stamp recorded in C.I.L. is in the Kircherian Museum at Rome.	ca. 13½	35	brown	1	152
A distinct point in the example after COELI: none is given in C.I.L. or by Marini. Only seven examples are noted in C.I.L.	ca. 11 11–12	37	brown	1	153
A doubtful point after CN. PLATE II, 5. (The inscription is partly obscured by mortar, which we could not have removed without injuring the specimen.) Cf. C.I.L. XV, 1; p. 268, table. This stamp probably belongs between C.I.L. Nos. 979 and 986.	15–17 11–12	52	brown-red	1	154
The stamps of CN DOMITIVS AFER are rare and, since he died in 59 A.D., are among the earliest known. The name of a figulus or officinator PARIS has not yet, to our knowledge, been recorded. Cf. the interesting monograph by Dr. Heinrich Dressel: <i>Untersuchungen über die Chronologie der Ziegelstempel der Gens Domitia</i> , Berlin, G. Reimer, 1886; particularly pp. 20, 21.					

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
155	○		<i>callis TI DV^o Domitiorym</i> In centre [Mercury, holding in the left hand the caduceus, in the right a purse, C.I.L. 992, c]	60-93	992	1674?
156	□		P<small>R</small>I<small>M</small>G<small>E</small>N duo D<small>O</small>M<small>I</small>T<small>O</small>R · ser · f	60-93	1000, a	1154 ²
157	○		¤ T<small>O</small>R<small>H</small>I<small>M</small>I · A<small>G</small>A<small>T</small>H<small>O</small>B<small>V</small>L<small>I</small> ¶ D <small>O</small> M <small>I</small> T <small>I</small> (¤) T <small>V</small> L <small>I</small>) In centre [bust of a man, turned to the left]	93/94-108	1003, b	
158	○		EX PR D<small>O</small>M<small>I</small>T<small>I</small>A<small>E</small> L<small>U</small>c<small>I</small>ll<small>A</small>e op do (sic) F<small>O</small>R<small>T</small>V<small>N</small>A<small>t</small>i · I<small>U</small>c In centre, two  palm-leaves	ca. 120	1018 5 noted	49 ¹
159	○		OPVS · FIG · FORTVNATI DOMT · LVCIL In centre [a disk, sun or moon?]	ca. 120	1019, a	51 ³
160	○		op · D · DIONYS DOMit · p · f · lucil PAET · E · APr · cos In centre [two straight lines, crossed]	123	1029, a	353
161	○		OP · D DORYHOR · domit p f luciLL PAET · ET APro · coS	123	1033	358 ¹
162	○		c comini · P ROC V LI (sic) ex · pre · dom · LVcil In centre, a palm-leaf  and a trident	after 132	1051	58 ²
163	○		ex · pr · d · p · f · LVCILLAE · O · dol · fec · m · a · pr I · ael · cAES · II · P · COel balbin In centre, 	137	1057	489
164	○		EX · PR D P F LVCILLÆ O DOI FEC · L · N D T AEI CAES · II C · briT · PR In centre, 	139	1061	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
The example is very defective: its centre is wanting, and the point after DV is doubtful. The fragment therefore might belong to C.I.L. No. 992, c or d.	ca. 13	41	brown	1	155
<i>Marini</i> wrongly states that the letters are impressed, and omits the points.	ca. 15	41	brown	1	156
C.I.L. gives at the end of line 1 a palm-leaf pointing obliquely downward, and after DOMITI an arrow-head pointing downward. The latter is doubtful in this example.	13-14 11-13	48	buff	1	157
Within each line two concentric circles. Perhaps not correctly given by <i>Marini</i> , who records DOL instead of DO.	ca. 10 ca. 10	26, 30	brown	2	158
C.I.L. gives the point after DOMT as in the middle of the line. A variant of this stamp has DOMT (C.I.L.).	12-13 10-12	30, 45	buff or brown	2	159
Within each line two concentric circles. <i>Marini</i> has no punctuation-points in line 1 and gives PAE as another reading in line 2. Regarding the figure, cf. note, C.I.L. p. 291.	ca. 11½ ca. 11	40	red	1	160
Within each line two concentric circles. <i>Marini</i> records DORYPHOR.	ca. 12 11½	30	reddish brown	1	161
Some letters in line 1 are spaced. <i>Marini</i> records a fragment and gives no punctuation-points.	ca. 9	40	brownish yellow	1	162
As C.I.L. points out, this inscription is very similar to the following one, C.I.L. No. 1061. <i>Marini</i> gives no punctuation-marks.	11-12	32	brown	1	163
C.I.L. gives no point after EX and C. It notes that this inscription is very similar to the preceding one, and that it does not mention the second consul's repeated consulship.	12-12½ 8-10	39, 40	brown	2	164

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
165	○	EX FIGlinis LVCILLAES QVARTIONIS	In centre, an upright pine-cone	ca. 140	1064 5 noted	1013
166	○	O·D·EX·PR·D·L·EX·OF·q·f·a L ST QVAIR ET C C ruf	In centre, COS	142	1065	501 ³ 960 ¹
167	○	OP·DOL EX PRAED LVCILL VERI·Q·F·A·	In centre, 	ca. 145-155	1068, a	95
168	○	MERCVRI·TI·CL QVINQVAT· EX·PR·LVCILL·VERI	In centre, an up- right palm-leaf	ca. 145-155		
169	○	TI CLAVdI SECVNDI·EX·PR· lucillae · veri ·	In centre, a vase [with a handle on each side]	ca. 145-155	1081	99
170	○	OPVS Dol ex pr lucil ver ab ulp anic COMmod et lateran COS	In centre, a tri- dent inverted	154	1086	517 ¹
171	○	·CN DOMIT·ARIGNOT  a FEC		ca. 75-100	1094, e	818 ³
172	○	» CN DOMIti euaristi «		ca. 75-100	1096, e 5 noted	830
173	○	« cn domiT·AMNDI  vAL QVI · FEC		ca. 75-108	1097, e	812 ³
174	○	CN DOMIti daphni			1101, b?	825 ²
		In centre, VALeat a si- strum qui fec .		ca. 90	4 noted	
175	○	« cn domiti cLEMENTIS 		end of 1st cent.	1102, b	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
<i>Marini</i> records a pine-cone only in the centre. <i>C.I.L.</i> states that the pine-cone is surrounded by leaves. These are absent in our examples, perhaps from defectiveness.	8½-10 8-9	27, 37	brown or buff	2	165
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives QVADR, but <i>Marini</i> QVADR. <i>C.I.L.</i> and <i>Marini</i> do not state that COS is placed obliquely. It is in smaller letters than the rest of the stamp. The second consul's praenomen was L, not C; cf. note, <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 299.	ca. 12 ca. 11 ca. 9	37	brown	1	166
<i>C.I.L.</i> does not give the point in line 1, but <i>Marini</i> does. The palm-leaf is placed somewhat obliquely, and is so given by <i>Marini</i> ; but not in <i>C.I.L.</i> , which puts it thus: #.	10-12 ca. 9	40-45	brown or buff	3	167
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1077, a. That record is based upon two examples found in 1859 (cf. Descemet, <i>op. cit.</i> No. 252), and upon a fragment with a palm-leaf after QVINQVAT. As our examples differ from the former only in having some punctuation-points in line 1, they may represent either more perfect specimens or another variant.	9-11 8½-10	30-35	buff, red, or brown	8	168
In one of our two examples only is a handle of the vase preserved. One letter in line 1 is 15 mm. high. No punctuation-points are given by <i>Marini</i> . SECVNDI stands for SECVNNDINI (<i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, p. 305).	11½-14 10-12	38, 42	buff or red	2	169
The very defective example shows only a fragment of the figure, and has COS, as recorded in <i>C.I.L.</i> ; <i>Marini</i> gives COS. About VLPIVS ANICETIANVS, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 213, No. 719, note.	ca. 11 ca. 10	36	brown	1	170
This example does not agree with <i>Marini</i> 's No. 818, but with the second of two variants of it given by Dressel in note 3.	ca. 14 ca. 14	42	brown	1	171
By <i>Marini</i> the palm-leaves are placed obliquely, pointing up and outward.	16-16½	40	brown	1	172
<i>C.I.L.</i> 1097, c, has the lines in the opposite order, line 1 being under line 2, apparently a misprint (cf. Dressel's note in <i>Marini</i> , p. 272; <i>C.I.L.</i> pp. 1, 2; Nos. 1095, 1097, d-f, 1102, a).	12-13 10-15-8	40	brown	1	173
This stamp agrees with <i>Marini</i> , No. 825, though Dressel's note (2) there and <i>C.I.L.</i> give a palm-leaf at the beginning and the end of line 1. Perhaps a variant.	ca. 13 ca. 9	40	buff	1	174
	ca. 14	49	buff	1	175

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
176	○		APRilis · CN · domiti agathobuli (sic) In centre, a bucranium, seen from the front, between two palm-leaves	ca. 115-120	1106, b	599 ¹
177		Impressed	APRON ET PAE COS □ e V T Y C h i □	123	1131 5 noted	
178	○		EX · PR · FL · APRI OPVS DOLIAR IVLI CALLISTI In centre, a boar running to the right	Plus	1145	870
179	○		t flaVI EVCRHI (sic)	Flavii		
180		Impressed	APRON ET Paet cos □ FORTVNATi □?	123	1160 1 noted	377
181	○		EX · PEREDIS C IVLI · ROLLINRIS (sic) FACET - MAGNO In centre, a palm-leaf	Hadrian	1203	950
182	○		GALLICANO ET VETERE COS OPVS FIG OFFIC IVLIAE SATVRNIN	150	1221, a	510
			In centre, an inverted bucranium [with infula?]			
183		Impressed	pont et atil cos ex p iuni SVL HERP	135	1229, a	487
184	○		c · licini · DONACIS? In centre, a doubtful object	about end of 1st cent.	1244	
185	○		* L · LVRI · BLANDI *	Flavii	1248, a	1016 ¹
			Between cusps, a large eagle seated on two cornucopiae [with ears of corn and bunches of grapes, Marini]			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Letters too defective to be measured accurately: they decrease in size toward each end of the inscription. The O in AGATHOBVL I is also small. As <i>Marini</i> has AGATHOBVL I, this stamp may exist in two variants. The present fragment might belong to either one.	<->	47	buff	1	176
This stamp is also recorded as <i>C.I.L.</i> X, No. 8043 (22).	ca. 14½	34	brown	1	177
Within each line two concentric circles. The examples lack points, perhaps because defective; but they may represent a variant.	10-11 ca. 10	21, 27	red or brown	2	178
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> 1151, which is a fragment, viz.: T FLAVI EV% , of circular (?) form. PLATE II, 9. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> 1150.	15½	36	brown	1	179
Neither <i>Marini</i> nor <i>C.I.L.</i> gives figures in the second line. Of this apparently very rare stamp we found five examples, which (all being defective in the same way) were no doubt cut off in the course of manufacture. The sole example noted in <i>C.I.L.</i> is in the Museo Borgiano at Velletri.	14-16	36-43	brown	5	180
The stamp <i>C.I.L.</i> 1203 has a point in line 2 and in the centre a palm-leaf pointing to the right. It agrees in these respects with one of our two examples. But the other has a short dash in line 2 and in the centre a palm-leaf pointing to the left, as shown in our record, and is therefore, strictly speaking, a variant of <i>C.I.L.</i> 1203. It agrees, however, with the stamp as recorded by <i>Marini</i> , except with regard to punctuation-points, which are not given. Its letters are a little larger, 13 mm. in line 1 and 14 mm. in line 2.	12-13 12-14	34, 43	red or brown	2	181
Regarding OPVS FIG(linum) OFFIC(inae) IVLIAE SATVRNIN(ae) , cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 337, No. 1221, note. We did not observe an infula.	10-12 9-10½	30-40	buff, red, or brown	7	182
	ca. 15	43	red	1	183
The example may be <i>C.I.L.</i> 1244 b, c, or d.	ca. 12	29	brown	1	184
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives the shape as a circle and has a star after the first L, which is not printed small. This example therefore may be a variant of <i>C.I.L.</i> 1248, a; but its inscription agrees with the one noted by Dressel in his comment upon <i>Marini</i> , No. 1016. The figure is between the cusps of the crescent.	7, 10½, 8	41	brown	1	185

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
186	○		EX PR·M·MACRI·OF·L·M·astrag SERVIANO·III·cos Centre blank	134	1300, a 5 noted	481
187	○		OP·dol·ex·pr mummiæ vARA E C F fig acili·fortVN In centre [a river-god reclining toward the left]	about Severus	1310 2 noted	
188	□		NAEVI Bassi	perhaps 1st cent.	1326 4 noted	1067 ²
189		Impressed	APRON ET PAE Cos □ O N E S I M I □	123	1339	387 ²
190	○		• M · VALERI · PRIScl OPVS · DOLIARE In centre,	ca. 134?	1367	1362
191	○		q · POMPEI · MAMMEi	about beginning of 2d cent.	1373	1136
192		Impressed	apron et pAE COS ↑ □ secVN D I □	123	1416 3 noted	
193		Impressed	aproN ET PAE COS □ S O P O S □	123	1450 2 noted	
194		Impressed	apro et PAE COS □ terC ON I □	123	1467	
195	○		opus FIGLINVM DOLiar de pr vibii (sic) aiaCIANI AB Appio qunqu (sic) In centre [a bust of Mercury with petasus, turned to the right; before it a purse, behind it the caduceus]	about Hadrian	1500	1081 ²
196	○		SEX · VIBI ARIPICT (?)			
197		Impressed	apro et PAE COS m vin HERCVLAN	123	1529, a	

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
The centre of this stamp is blank.	ca. 12 ca. 12	36	brown	1	186
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives the first F in line 2 hatched. This specimen is so defective that it leaves that letter likewise doubtful.	ca. 12 ca. 9½	26	red	1	187
<i>C.I.L.</i> notes the early style of the letters. See also remarks in <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 351, top of col. 2.	ca. 12	31	red	1	188
Line 2 wrongly recorded by <i>Marini</i> .	14-14½ 13½	38, 39	buff or brown	2	189
In the first line <i>C.I.L.</i> gives only the point after VALERI . <i>Marini</i> gives all the points except the one before M . About M. VALERIVS PRISCVS and the date cf. note, <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 360.	ca. 10	36	buff	1	190
<i>Marini</i> has a doubtful Q and does not give punctuation-points.	14-15	31-43	buff or brown	4	191
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives a rectangle □ after SECVNDI ; but our examples show a square.	14-15	37-39	buff or brown	3	192
The examples show that the figure at the end of the second line is an oblong. The fourth letter in the second line is undoubtedly O; cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> , note.	14-15	36-39	buff or brown	4	193
Each of the three specimens had all the letters here recorded as seen. The inscription was probably divided in the cutting of triangular bricks from square ones.	ca. 14 ca. 14½	36-42	buff or brown	3	194
Quite wrongly recorded by <i>Marini</i> . The genitive case of VIBIVS is spelled with two I's in this stamp: in all others it has but one (<i>C.I.L.</i>). The second V in QVNQV is smaller than the other letters.	10-11 8-9	32	red	1	195
One letter I is 14 mm. long. PLATE II, 7.	12-14	37	brown	1	196
	13-13½ 12½-13	35, 37	red	2	197

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
198	○		OF · BVC - 2 · P - In centre, • a point		1554 2 noted	
		Bad letters in a circle		1st half of 3d cent.?		
199	○		R · S · p Of · DOm S · IIII	1st half of 3d cent.?	1568, a or b	1179?
200	○	Impressed	off S R F Dom p 	Diocletian or later?	1569, a	1191 ¹
201	○	Bad letters in a circle	oFF DOM s r?	Diocletian or later?		
202	○		OF · S P · off · DOM ·	1st half of 3d cent.?	1574, a	
203	○	Bad letters in a circle	OF DOMIT · P 2 In centre, • a point	1st half of 3d cent.?	1577	1220 ⁶ ?
204	○	Impressed	OF S OF dom mERCAT In centre, :::	Gordiani?	1579, a	1225
205	○	Impressed	OF S OF DOM VICTORIS Centre blank	Gordiani?	1580, a	
206	○	Impressed	OF S OF DOM VICTORIS In centre, X two straight crossed lines in relief	Gordiani?	1580, b	1223, a
207	○	Impressed	OF S DOMI SATVRNINI In centre, Z two letters 2 placed Z as shown	Gordiani?	1581, a	1223
208	○	Impressed	of · F S · R · D · P · t ·	Diocletian or later?	1591, b or c 3 and 2 noted	1205

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
The example shows no punctuation-mark after OF and S , but a short dash after BVC and P , while <i>C.I.L.</i> gives a point. Two concentric circles within and outside of the letters. A radial dash in relief passes through the letter O , extending from the inner circles to the octagon. A similar dash passes between the letters S and P . Both are perhaps due to cracks in the wooden block. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 75.	13-14	28	brown	1	198
About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 75 and pl. v, 1. Cf. remarks of <i>Marini</i> , pp. 345-347. — Apparently a tile.	8½-10	19	red	1	199
About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 73, 77 and pl. v, 4. Of this very common stamp we found only one example.	10-11½	38	brown	1	200
Within the letters two concentric circles; outside of them one circle. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 1573 and 1575. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 73.	11-14	22, 27	brown	2	201
<i>C.I.L.</i> notes only six examples. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 73, 77.	9-11	31	red	1	202
<i>C.I.L.</i> gives P . Short diameter of octagon = 73.5 mm. Within and outside of the inscription are two concentric circles. Outer diameter of outermost circle = 35.5 mm. In the centre a point, omitted in <i>C.I.L.</i> <i>Marini</i> recorded O DOMIT PS. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 73, 77.	11-15	25-36	red or brown	3	203
The figure in the middle is surrounded by a circle. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 77 and pl. v, 3. A variant of this stamp has DOMI (<i>Marini</i>).	12-14	24, 26	red	2	204
About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 77.	ca. 12	37	red	1	205
As to a meaning of the figure see G. B. de Rossi, <i>Bull. Crist.</i> 1870, p. 12; also W. Dennison, <i>Amer. Journ. Arch.</i> IX. (1905), pp. 19, 32-43. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 77.	ca. 13	29	brown	1	206
The letters are placed in a circle, between single circles. The meaning of the letters SS , which are placed horizontally in <i>C.I.L.</i> , is unknown. About the date, see List No. 205.	11-12	30-41	red or brown	3	207
The letters are placed in a circle between single circles. A figure, as in the example of <i>Marini</i> , p. 353, could not be observed. About the date, cf. G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 77.	13-14	25	red	1	208

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
209	○	Impressed	OF S OF IOBIA CESVRINI In centre, fragment of some figure? in relief	Diocletian or later	1609	1227 ¹
210	○	Impressed	OF S OF IOBIA CLEMEN Centre blank	Diocletian or later	1610	1228
211	○	Impressed	OFF S R F MARCI ◊ In centre, a leaf	Diocletian or later	1615, a	1192 ² 1193 1195 ²
212	○	Impressed	OFF S R F OCen ◊ In centre [a leaf]	Diocletian or later	1622	1196 ³ 1190 ² 1197
213	○	In a circle	OF LER-2 P- In centre, a point	1st half of 3d cent.?		
214	□		+REGDN THEODE ?+RICO BONORome		1664	156 ¹
			The following stamp, which occurs with the above stamp, was not found by us on any brick:	Theodoric		
			□ de officina iusti			
			Cf. C.I.L. p. 414			
215	□		? REGDN THEODE ? RICO BONOrome		1665, a?	156 ¹ 157 159
				Theodoric		
216	□		? reg d n theODE ? rico bono ROME		1665, a?	157 ¹
				Theodoric		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
One example is 25–37 mm. thick: it is wedge-shaped. About the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 386, and G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i>	12–14	25–38	red, buff, or brown	7	209
One of the two bricks found bears two of the stamps. About the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 386, and G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i>	12½–14	24, 32	red or brown	3	210
Between the inscription and the figure two concentric circles. <i>Marini</i> gives at the end of the line an arrow-head pointing upward. About the date, see List No. 212, Remarks.	ca. 10	29	buff	1	211
<i>Marini</i> gives a triangle at the end of the line in No. 1196. About the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 386, and G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 70, 77.	8–11	20–34	red or brown	3	212
Around and within the inscription are two concentric circles. A variant of the rare stamp, <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1647. About the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 386, and G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i>	12–14	29–36	buff or brown	5	213
The accompanying inscription is missing. Height of rectangular frame = 42½–43½ mm.: its corners are rounded. GD , TH , DE , and hence probably also RE , in line 1 are joined. OR in line 2 are joined. There are three kinds of O in line 2, differing in size and shape, to wit: O ₁ (round) 14 mm. high; O ₂ and O ₃ (oval) 12½–13½ mm. high; O ₄ (oval) 11 mm. high.	16–18½, 16–18½, except O 's	21–26	brown	5	214
This stamp is probably the same as <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1664, although all the above-mentioned facts are not pointed out there. The letters are often in high relief, but ill-made. The stamp figured by G. Boni (<i>Notizie degli Scavi</i> , 1900, p. 170, fig. 15) appears to belong here; but the drawing does not quite agree with <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1664 and our examples.					
Three of the specimens, lacking the beginnings of the lines, may belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> 1665, a. PLATE II, 11.					
Height of rectangular frame 43 mm.: its corners are rounded. RE , GD , TH are united, and hence probably also DE (cf. List No. 214); but there is no dash over EG . O ₁ (round) 13½ mm. high; O ₂ and O ₃ (oval) 12½–13 mm. high. There are no crosses at the beginnings of the lines.	15–17 14–17, except O 's	ca. 25	brown	1	215
Probably <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1665, a, though it is not stated that the O 's in BONO differ distinctly from the first O in line 2. PLATE II, 12.					
This stamp differs from List No. 214, and probably from List No. 215, in the separation of D and E . The O (oval) in ROME is 13 mm. high, much smaller than the adjoining letters. This fragment, therefore, likewise cannot belong to the following stamp, <i>C.I.L.</i> 1665, b, but may belong to the stamp figured (if correctly) by G. Boni, <i>loc. cit.</i> , above.	ca. 14–17 ca. 15–20, except O	28	brown	1	216

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
217	□		+reg D N THEODE +rico BONO ROME	Theodosius	1665, b	
218	□		+REC D N THEODE RICO FELIX Roma	Theodosius	1669	154 ¹
219	○	Impressed	gaudENTI *	5th cent.?	1692, b. 2 noted	
220		Impressed	SAL EX PR---- ARMINI AR--	123	1810, b 1 noted	
221	○		ex pr·flAVIAES PELAQ paet E APR Cos	123	2012 1 noted	377, a ²
222			BC			
		Impressed				
223			CYWPY-----			
224	□		GRDIO LYBIOVA			
225		Impressed	D AELAB			
226	□	Small	----- SANSII, NISSARAI			
227	□		EX OFFICI NA I-----	3d cent. or later		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST NO.
The O's in line 2 are of nearly equal height, 16½-18 mm. No letters are united. The N's are shaped thus: <i>N</i> . The height of the rectangular frame is 43 mm. PLATE II, 17.	17-20 14-16, exc. O's	22, 26	brown	2	217
Both specimens have the — over N; but they may represent the two variants given under C.I.L. 1669, as one of our examples is too fragmentary to decide which it is. Noted also in <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> II (1896), p. 56, No. 5.	15-18 15-18	26, 28	brown	2	218
The figure in the centre of the example is broken away. Letters between single circles. About the date, cf. C.I.L. No. 1691.	12-13½	31	brown	1	219
Compare Nos. 482-484. Two doubtful letters AR at the end of line 2 may be due to a re-impression of the same stamp.	13-14 13-14	31	brown	1	220
This example establishes and almost completes the partly doubtful text of the stamp as recorded in C.I.L. Unfortunately it is defective at the end of line 1, like the sole example noted in C.I.L.	ca. 12	37	red	1	221
PLATE IX, 11. The letters are unusually large. Possibly not a Roman stamp in the ordinary sense, as Roman brickstamps consisting only of a few large unframed letters are almost unknown. There are many in small letters on vessels, but they usually show the outline of the block. Compare C.I.L. XV, 1, Nos. 1170, 1997, 2183, 2364, 2539, 2540, 2544, 2549, 2550, and 2557; X, 2, Nos. 8042 (105, 118-121, 131, 159), 8043 (51), 8045 (31); Marini, Nos. 651-653, 656-659; P. Crostarosa, <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> II (1896), p. 66, No. 42; VII (1901), p. 143, No. 83.	ca. 15	22	buff	1	222
PLATE III, 14. Over the letters are two impressed circular stamps, one about 49 mm., the other about 21 mm. in diameter. Both examples have the same figured stamps accompanying the inscription and appear to have been made with the same block.	16-18	34, 36	brown or buff	2	223
The rectangle is 75 mm. broad and 21 mm. high. PLATE II, 8.	13-15	20	brown	1	224
The letters are unusually large and roughly made. PLATE II, 1.	25-27	37	red	1	225
The letters are unusually small. PLATE II, 6.	8-9	36	brown	1	226
The inscription, which is of late date, is surrounded by a rectangular ornamental frame in relief. PLATE II, 10.	13-15	25	brown	1	227

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
228		Impressed	FL			
229	□		L ALFI RVFI-? SATVRNI---?			
230	□		OFl c? INOC ENTI			
231	◎		» TI CLAVDI TYRANNI « ? ? Centre blank			
232	□		-----T TV			
233	○					
234		Impressed	APR·ET·PAE C A·G·S·S·D·F·I ·	490-493 123		
235			APr----- O----- AN-----	123		
236		Impressed	APR Et----- EX P MI-----	123		
237		Impressed	APRON Et----- D PRIM-----	123		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
The letters are unusually large. Possibly not a Roman stamp in the ordinary sense: see Remarks under List No. 222. PLATE II, 2.	25-27	31-40	brown or buff	7	228
The rectangle enclosing the inscription is about 70 mm. broad and 30 mm. high. The illustration, PLATE II, 3, which is not good, shows only the left half.	10-11 9- $\frac{1}{2}$	32	buff	1	229
The letters of this stamp, which appears to be of late date, are ill made. PLATE II, 16.	9-16 9-16 9-16	27	buff	1	230
This stamp, on account of its shape and inscription, seems to be of the end of the first century. Compare C.I.L. Nos. 928, b, 930, e, and 933, c-e, after which it should be placed. PLATE II, 18.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12	44	brown	1	231
The frame is 20 mm. high. The inscription seems to have consisted of two lines, but only a few letters of the lower one are visible. PLATE IX, 6.	ca. 9	35	red	1	232
The diameter of the stamp, which is ca. 26 mm., and the character of the letters, though they cannot be distinctly read, indicate that this stamp may be C.I.L. 1660, a. PLATE VIII, 8.		29	buff	1	233
One example has the peculiar cross, called fylfot (also <i>swastika</i> and <i>crux gammata</i> , or <i>croix-gammée</i>), in relief over the middle of the inscription, 21 mm. distant from it. PLATE III, 15. Its vertical width is 42 mm., its horizontal width, 40 mm., while the extremities beyond the angle measure on the outside about 16 mm. For references regarding the origin, meaning and wide distribution of the fylfot, see p. 7, note 2, a and b.	14-15	35-40	red or brown	5	234
There is no O at the left end of the middle line in any stamp beginning thus in C.I.L. The fragment might belong to a variant of C.I.L. No. 454.	12-13	40	red	1	235
Compare C.I.L. No. 1954.	ca. 15	35	red	1	236
The example is not C.I.L. No. 450 or 1385. The figure at the beginning of line 2, exactly given here, looks somewhat like those similarly placed in C.I.L. Nos. 1430-1432. Cf. C.I.L. No. 1992.	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14	35, 44	red or brown	2	237

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
238	Impressed		APr ----- S -----	123		
239	Impressed		APR ----- □ -----	123		
240	Impressed		aprON ET PAE Cos ----- OM -----	123		
241	Impressed		----- et PAE COS ----- Q □	123		
242	Impressed		----- COS ----- IIMI □	123?		
243	Impressed		----- COS ----- CiC □	123?		
244	Impressed		----- paE COS ----- R I □	123		
245	Impressed		----- ET PAE COS ? a · g · s · S · D · C	123		
246	Impressed		----- cOS ----- I □	123?		
247	Impressed		----- cOS ----- R □	123?		
248	Impressed		----- cOS ----- □	123?		
249	Impressed		----- et PAE COS ----- Q □	123		
250	Impressed		----- coS ----- Q □	123?		
251	Impressed		APr -----	123		
252	Impressed		APRON ET PAE cos	123		

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST NO.
There is no trace of a square □ before the S. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 500, a.	15-16	39	red	1	238
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443-450, 787, and others.	ca. 14½	39	brown	1	239
	ca. 14	38	brown	1	240
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443, 444-447 (List Nos. 69-72), 449, and 450 (List No. 73).	14-15	38	brown	1	241
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 1339, 1386.	ca. 15	38	buff	1	242
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 934.	ca. 13½ 14-15	42	brown	1	243
There is a slight circular depression within the rectangle at the end of line 2. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 787, 1187, 1303, 1448.	14-15 14-15	35	brown	1	244
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 490-494, among which this fragment belongs, and No. 495.	ca. 12 ca. 14	37	brown	1	245
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 845, 898, 914, 1467.	ca. 16½	40	brown	1	246
	ca. 14	37	red	1	247
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443-450, and others.	ca. 14	40	brown	1	248
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443, 444-447 (List Nos. 69-72). The figure of this fragment is an oblong.	13½ 13½	37	brown	1	249
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443, 444-447 (List Nos. 69-72).	ca. 14	41	brown	1	250
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443-450, 479, 486, a, 490, and others.	ca. 13	42	brown	1	251
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 443-448, 479, 787.	12-13	42	brown	1	252

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
253		Impressed	<i>pactIN ET APROn cos</i> -----	123		
254		Impressed	----- <i>eT APR COS</i> ----- <i>p---?</i> -----	123		
255		Impressed	----- <i>et paE COS</i> ----- <i>□</i>	123		
256		Impressed	----- <i>COS</i> ----- <i>□</i>	123?		
257		Impressed	----- ----- <i>?IVI? □</i>	123?		
258		Impressed	----- <i>et PAE·C</i> -----	123		
259	○		<i>opus dol DE PRAED aug n ex figl</i> <i>vet CAECilia amanda</i> In centre [a woman looking to the left, holding in her left hand a cornucopia, in her right a palm-leaf]			
260	○		--I OPVS DOLIA--- or OPVS DOLIA -----I ----- ES ----- or ----- aE S -----			
261	○		-- EX PR STAES ----- ----- AEL ----- In centre (?)			
262	○		<i>earini lucilAE VERi (sic)</i> <i>opus dolARE</i>	ca. 145-155?		
263		Impressed	HIB · E t · s i s e n · c o s EX · PR · uL F · ulpian sa(I)	123	508, a or b	
264	○		OPVS DOL · EX ----- ----- In centre (?)			
265	○		-- oPVS DOL · EX Pr - In centre, a winged human figure (Victory?), its feet over the S			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Perhaps a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 563, <i>b-f</i> , <i>i</i> , or <i>k</i> .	<i>ca.</i> 16	35	brown	1	253
	14-15	38	red	1	254
Perhaps a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 1187, 1338, or 1360.	<i>ca.</i> 15	41	brown	1	255
Perhaps a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 827 (List No. 148).	13-14	39	brown	1	256
The letters are very defective. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 450 (List No. 73).		33	buff	1	257
This fragment apparently belongs to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 490, 491 (List No. 80), 492, or 493.	<i>ca.</i> 14	39	red	1	258
Apparently a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 193 or 194. The stamps probably belong, according to <i>C.I.L.</i> , to the first years of the reign of (Septimius) Severus.				1	259
Perhaps a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 256.	<i>ca.</i> 12	23	brown	1	260
	10-11	37	red	1	261
Perhaps a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1050.	11-12	25	brown	1	262
This fragment apparently belongs to the rare stamp <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 508, <i>a</i> (5 noted), or <i>b</i> (1 noted). Its place is after List No. 87.	<i>ca.</i> 14	37	brown	1	263
This fragment might belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 399 or 1090, <i>b</i> . Compare also <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 45, 162, 167, 225, and others.				1	264
	11½-12	27	brown	1	265

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
266	□	Impressed	- N -- I * ----- AS - - S - r * --- O M ---			
267	○		OP DOL Ex pr aug n fl gEAoraoravibver In centre [a Victory; see C.I.L.]			
268	◎		--- DOMINI? ----- OPVS DOL-----			
269		Impressed	PONT ET rufin cos or atil cos EX fig avitian or p iuni sul herp	181 or 185		
270	○		opus dol ex fig pROPET • PRAed or tes paul • neg • sacN • victor In centre [a fish turned to the left]	Commodus?		
271	○		opVS DOLIAR ----- ----- RI ----- In centre (?)			
272		Impressed	----- AT COS ----- ----- IV ----- ○	Hadrian?		
273	○		-- DOL EX PR ----- ----- In centre, a winged human figure (Victory?)			
274	◎		EX PRA ----- DO -----			
275	◎		EX • figlinis tonnejanis flavi apRI OP • dol. alli rafI In centre, nothing to see [a seven-rayed star?]	ca. middle of 2d cent.?		
276	◎		----- dOLIARE ----- ----- L ----- In centre (?)			
277	○		-- EX PR AVg or r --- ? ----- ? ----- ?			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
The rectangular frame measures 50 × 19 mm. Probably a fragment of a stamp of the first century. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 1320, 1321, 1326 (List No. 188) and 1970.				1	266
This fragment may belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 222.	ca. 12	25	red	1	267
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 763.	ca. 11	30	red	1	268
This fragment may belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 15 (<i>Marini</i> , No. 462) -17, or <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1229.	15-16	34	buff	1	269
This fragment apparently belongs to a stamp published by P. Crostarosa, <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> IV (1898), p. 234. We discovered this too late to insert it among the "identified" stamps after List No. 62, where it belongs. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> XVI, 1, Nos. 415-418. PLATE II, 15.	11-11½	19	buff	1	270
This fragment might belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 381 or 372.	ca. 12	32	red	1	271
Over the stamp is an impressed disk ca. 22 mm. in diameter, in the centre of which is a hemispherical hole ca. 11 mm. in diameter.	ca. 16	37	buff	1	272
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 44, 197, 222, 408, d, and others.	ca. 12	36	buff	1	273
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 161 (List No. 18) and 713.	ca. 12	25	red	1	274
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 658.	ca. 13 ca. 11	47	brown	1	275
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 179 and 1016.	ca. 12	32	buff	1	276
This fragment might belong to two kinds of stamps: <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 44, 48, 163, 174, 203, etc., or <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 401, 719.	ca. 11	30	brown	1	277

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
278	○	--- FIG DOM --- ? ----- ? In centre, some figure				
279	○	--- IAN · OP D --- ? ----- ?		Hadrian ?		
280	○	----- LAE ---? --- IA! ---?				
281	○	oP DOL EX --- ? ----- ?				
282	○	----- PR ASIN ----- ? ----- ?		middle of 2d cent.?		
283	○	⇒ cn · dSmiti euRjSTi --- In centre [v. o. f. (sic), reversed]		75-100 ?		
284	□	TI Claudi HERmerotis or merotis		middle or end of 1st cent.?		
285	○	ex · pr cusin(xe) graTILLÆ		1st half of 2d cent.?	961, a or b?	782?
286	○	----- VE ----- ----- NINI -----				
287	○	op dol ex pr AVG N Fig tere nt l aelio pHIDele In centre [an eagle with spread wings, seen from the front: he is looking toward the left]		Severus ?		
288	○	----- AT ? ----- ----- BRV ? -----				
289	○	----- AXIMI ----- or --- AXIMI ? ----- ? or ? ----- ?		Hadrian ?		
290	○	----- ET · PAE ----- ? ----- ?				
291	○	----- EX FIG ----- In centre (?)				

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 165, 169, <i>b</i> , and 1030.	<i>ca.</i> 12	28	brown	1	278
Perhaps a fragment of the rare stamp <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1504.	12-14	36	red	1	279
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 617.	<i>ca.</i> 11	42	brown	1	280
This fragment might belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 9, 44, 159, 160, 181-183, and many others.	<i>ca.</i> 13	40	buff	1	281
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 863, <i>Marini</i> , No. 509.	<i>ca.</i> 9	33	brown	1	282
Probably a fragment of <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1096, <i>b</i> . We observed this too late, however, to re-examine the original stamp in order to ascertain whether the first letter here given is correctly noted as S or not.	18½-14½-10	25	brown	1	283
Probably <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 930, <i>b</i> or <i>c</i> , <i>Marini</i> , No. 732 or 731.	10-11	38	brown	1	284
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 961, <i>a</i> or <i>b</i> .	<i>ca.</i> 14	37	red	1	285
	9-10	35	brown	1	286
This fragment may belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 625, <i>Marini</i> , Nos. 194, 196 ² .	11½-12	37		1	287
All the letters are much worn. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 40.			red	1	288
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 298, 299; 252, 253, <i>a</i> , 254, <i>b</i> , 255.	13-14	31	red	1	289
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 26, 28, 453, 956, and others.	13-15	29	buff	1	290
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 699, 545, 169, <i>b</i> .	<i>ca.</i> 12	35	brown	1	291

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
292		Impressed	? -----? ? -- EX FIG -----			
293	○		--- FIG D N --- ? -----?			
294	○		-- ? L AVG N --- ? -----? In centre, a figure?			
295	○		---- NA EX I ----	1st cent.?		
296	○		---- ONINI ---- ? -----?			
297	○		OPV-----S D-----			
298	○		? op · dol · eX · PR DOM · augg nn fig? domit · laNI fortunati In centre (?)	Severus?	159?	
299		Large and impressed	--- X PR RI ---			
300	○		---- DEN ----- ---- T -----			
301		Impressed	? -----? -- ERVI ----- ? -----?	184?		
302	○	Bad	---- T E I ----- ?	3d cent. or later		
303	○		---- G NNN -----			
304	○		---- ? I FIG -----			
305	○		---- VRI ----- In centre (?)			
306	○		---- MINI -----			
307	○		---- O D · M · S -----			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST No.
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 303, 306.	ca. 14	37	red	1	292
	ca. 11	28	brown	1	293
	ca. 11	40	brown	1	294
The letters vary in size. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 656.	12<14	40	brown	1	295
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 93, 95, 201.	ca. 13	34	brown	1	296
Within the first line, two concentric circles. <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 168, 204, 744, 759, 772 have the same letters, but other shapes.	ca. 12 ca. 11	30	brown	1	297
This fragment might belong to <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, No. 159; cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> X, No. 8043 (10). The figure in the centre is wanting from defectiveness.	13½-14	25	brown	1	298
	25-26	37	brown	1	299
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 1691, 1692, a, which, however, have impressed letters. The 'T' is perhaps a part of a cross.	ca. 17	40	red	1	300
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 92, 511, 512, 515. There was probably one line, at least, either above or below the one recorded.	ca. 15	27	buff	1	301
In the centre doubtful traces of a figure.	18½-15	25	brown	1	302
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 48, <i>Marini</i> , No. 227 ¹ . This is the only circular inscription with three N's recorded in <i>C.I.L.</i>	ca. 10	29	brown	1	303
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 156, 202, 624, 625.	ca. 14	29	red	1	304
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 337, 1247, 1248, a, 1250, 1253, 1254.	letters cut off	35	red	1	305
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 213.	ca. 12	35	red	1	306
Another impression of the stamp with O D on the same brick.	ca. 13	35	red	2	307

LIST No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
308	○		O ----- N EX ----- In centre (?)			
309	○		OP DOI ----- ? ----- ?			
310	○		OP ----- qVIN ----- cOs	134?		
311	○		--- PR • CÆS --- ? ----- ? In centre (?)			
312	○		----IVCIL----- ----- In centre (?)			
313			? ----- ! ----- ? ----- AND -----			
314		Large and impressed	----- DLL □			
315	○		EX ----- A ----- In centre (?)			
316	○		EX Pr ----- ? ----- ?			
317	○		EX ----- S ----- In centre (?)			
318	○		----- F DO --- -----			
319	○		--- OF --- C --- In centre,  a leaf	Diocletian or later?		
320	○		----- IO, NN -----			
321	○		----- OP D ----- ? ----- ? In centre (?)			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND	LIST No.
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 189, 212, 225.	<i>ca.</i> 11	26	brown	1	308
We have found no stamp recorded with both the shape and the letters here given.	<i>ca.</i> 12	38	brown	1	309
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1073.	10-11	37	red	1	310
It is doubtful if there was a second line. The fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 322, 364, 369, 718, and others.	letters cut off	31	red	1	311
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 171, 270, 618, 1022, 1046, and others.	<i>ca.</i> 9	27	brown	1	312
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1097, <i>a</i> .	14-15	38	red	1	313
The letters are unusually large.	<i>ca.</i> 25	35	brown	1	314
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 76, 90, <i>a</i> , 98, 109, 143, and others.	<i>ca.</i> 11	35	red	1	315
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 14, 97, <i>c</i> and <i>d</i> , 253, 255, 316, and others.	<i>ca.</i> 13	34	red	1	316
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 11, 49, 207, 242, 288, and others.	12-13	28	red	1	317
It is doubtful if there was a second line. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 162, 182.	<i>ca.</i> 13	27	brown	1	318
Probably <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1615, <i>a</i> , or 1622 (List No. 211 or 212). About the date, cf. <i>C.I.L.</i> p. 386 and G. B. Lugari, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 70, 77.	7-8½	24	brown	1	319
Apparently a letter followed NN. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 652, 654; but also <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 180, 181-183, 215-217.	<i>ca.</i> 12	34	buff	1	320
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 128 and 135; also Nos. 129, 692, 725, and others.	<i>ca.</i> 12	27	buff	1	321

List No.	SHAPE	LETTERS	STAMP	DATE (A.D.)	C.I.L. XV, 1 No.	MARINI No.
322	○		-----PR M----- ? ----- ? In centre (?)			
323	○		-----R----- -----AE-----			
324		Impressed	-----sVLP-----	Hadrian		
325	○		---VRI·E?---			
326	□		-----AE-----			
327	○		Æ M̄ s̄. l̄. ī. d̄. In centre [a leaf?]	Diocletian or later?		
328	○	Impressed	-----OM-----	1st half of 3d cent.?		
329		Impressed	-----OS-----			
330	○		-----PR----- ? ----- ?			
331	○		-----SI----- ? ----- ?			
332		Impressed	■ D'-----			
333	○		-----VI----- ? ?			
334	□		Traces of an illegible inscription in relief, with a fragment of a frame			
335	○		The inscription is illegible			
336	□		○ The inscription is illegible			

REMARKS	HEIGHT OF LETTERS MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND	LIST NO.
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 408, <i>a-e</i> , 245.	ca. 12	37	red	1	322
Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 89, 256, 625, 628.	15-15½	37	red	1	323
The letters are unusually large. Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 566 <i>a</i> , 589, or 1838, <i>d</i> .	ca. 27	43	brown	1	324
The last letters may be wrongly noted. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 235.	10-11	31	brown	1	325
The letters are unusually large. The rectangular frame is 26 mm. high. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 2093.	ca. 17	27	red	1	326
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1613. Large letters within a single circle.			buff	1	327
The letters are between single circles. The fragment probably belongs to <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1574, <i>a</i> (List No. 202).	11-12	37	brown	1	328
The letters are unusually large. Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 583, <i>b</i> , or 1393.	ca. 18	35	brown	1	329
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 9, 10, 41, 44, 46, 47, and others.	ca. 13	31	red	1	330
This fragment might belong to many stamps. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> Nos. 75, 79, 251, 417, 420, and others.	ca. 16	24	brown	1	331
The letters are about 25 mm. high, but too imperfect in the example for exact measurement.		32	brown	1	332
Perhaps <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1151 (List No. 179?) or 1152.	ca. 16	33	brown	1	333
The ansated rectangle is 31 mm. high and ill made.		35	red	1	334
		27	buff	1	335
At 16 mm. from one end of the oblong is an impressed disk, 25 mm. in diameter, with a shallow hole in the centre, 3 mm. in diameter.		33	buff	1	336

PART SECOND
FIGURED STAMPS AND OTHER MARKS
WITH INDEX TO THE PLATES

PLATE I

VIEW of the Aurelian Wall on the east side of the Porta San Giovanni, which may be seen in the distance.

The leaning tower in the foreground is the fifth from the gate, and is, according to A. Nibby,¹ Honorian (cf. p. 11, above). The two patches of plaster of Paris which have been placed quite recently upon the front of it, as well as the two on the visible side of the fourth tower, lie across fissures in the old brick-work and are intended to give notice of any widening of those fissures in the towers by cracking themselves under the strain so produced.

The picture shows the west end of the breach, which extends eastward as far as the next, sixth, tower, and has a width of 29.7 m. or 100 Roman feet. The view has been so chosen as to show also the passage in the wall at this point, some coarse modern masonry of repair to the right of it, and below on the ground a heap of broken bricks, in which were found some of the stamps described in this paper.

The site of the breach, looking northeastward, may also be seen in pl. vii, 1, of Richter's *Topographie von Rom* (1901). It lies between the second tower from the left and the third, the former being the leaning tower mentioned above.

PLATE II 2

1.	This stamp is List No. 225	10.	This stamp is List No. 227
2.	" " " " " 228	11.	" " " " " 214
3.	" " " " " 229	12.	" " " " " 215
4.	" " " " " 57	13.	" " " " " 147
5.	" " " " " 154	14.	" " " " " 110
6.	" " " " " 226	15.	" " " " " 270
7.	" " " " " 196	16.	" " " " " 230
8.	" " " " " 224	17.	" " " " " 217
9.	" " " " " 179	18.	" " " " " 231

¹ *Le Mura di Roma*, Rome, 1820, p. 358: "Dopo l' Anfiteatro siegue una cortina del secolo XVI, e quindi una torre diruta, la quale come quasi tutto questo tratto di mura fino alla porta Lateranense, o di San Giovanni mostra l' epoca Onoriana. Infatti di Onorio ravvisansi le tre torri seguenti ridotte oggi a contrafforti, egualmente che le cortine annesse; la quarta ridotta pur in sostegno è del secolo XV; la quinta è dello stesso secolo, la cortina dopo questa riconoscesi restaurata nel secolo XVII come replicatamente risurbit nel secolo XII, XIV e XVI è la sesta torre. La cortina seguente porta l' iscrizione: *In Iulius III Pont. Max.* Onoriane sono le due torri successive [the first of these is the fifth from the gate] colle annesse cortine; la torre seguente è dirutta, e ridotta come contrafforte: le due ultime sono state restaurate, e rinforzate ne^o secoli XVI e XVII ed è sotto queste che si veggono gli indizi di opera reticolata del proseguimento dello speco Ottaviano [cf. R. Lanciani, *I commentarii di Frontino*, Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Seria III; Memorie, vol. IV (1880), p. 265] del quale si è ragionato di sopra."

² The illustrations on PLATES II-X show the objects in very nearly one-third of their actual size, and the photographs of them were taken (one plate at a time) with the source of light in front of the observer, the objects being always at the same distance from the camera. When dimensions are not expressly given, they may, therefore, be easily determined.

LIST NO.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND
	III	The objects represented on PLATE III bear no letters, excepting Nos. 10, 12, 14, 15, and possibly No. 3.				
337	1	Fragment of a figure at the right.		31	brown	1
338	2	Nearly identical with No. 4 on this PLATE.		33, 34	brown	2
339	3	A round stamp. The indistinct marks may be letters.	50	28	brown	1
340	4	Nearly identical with No. 2 on this PLATE, but better preserved. One brick is 40 mm. thick.		30-34	buff, red, or brown	16
341	5	The figure contains four leaves producing a cross.		30, 32	brown	2
342	6			31	buff	1
343	7			26-28	red or brown	5
344	8	Apparently a small circle enclosing coarse dots.	33	32	brown	1
345	9	A four-sided figure with a disk at the upper corner.		29	brown	1
	10	List No. 74. Cf. p. 7, note 1, and Waring, pl. xxviii, 25.	Disk	23		
346	11	The little figures in this stamp are not letters: they are in relief. One brick has a uniformly varying thickness of 26-37 mm.: it is slightly wedge-shaped.		90	27-30	brown, red, or buff
	12	List No. 77.				
347	13	Cf. <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 190, 53; Waring, pl. xxxviii, 19-22.		38	red	1
	14	List No. 223. The figures may represent paterae or shields. Compare PLATE VI, 4 (List No. 388); Rostowzew, pl. vi, 9; Fabretti, p. 70; Cumont, II, p. 418.	49, 21			
	15	List No. 234. Regarding the fylfot, cf. p. 7, note 2.				
	IV	No stamp on this PLATE has any letters, except possibly No. 3.				
348	1			33	buff	1
349	2	A rectangular stamp; beside it four dots in a line. Compare No. 20 on this PLATE.		28, 35	red	2
350	3	A rectangular stamp with ornamental edge. It may contain letters, but none could be read with certainty.		29	brown	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	IV	<i>Continued.</i>				
351	4	A large impressed disk with holes at the margin. Cf. Fabretti, p. 65, No. 4; <i>C.I.L.</i> VI, No. 25472; Seure, <i>Bull. Corr. Hell.</i> XXVIII (1904), p. 217, fig. 14.		39	red	1
352	5	A disk and a fragment of an ornamental rectangular stamp over it.		27	buff	1
353	6	This stamp has a nude human figure in relief. It is inverted on the PLATE because not understood when photographed.		32	brown	1
354	7	A circle with short marginal dashes or coarse dots.		34	buff	1
355	8	Apparently a square ornamental stamp with a coarse dot at the middle of each side. Possibly inverted.		28-32	buff, red, or brown	3
356	9	Disks with dots. Cf. <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 189, Nos. 32, 37, 38.		27-30	brown	1
357	10	A disk with three marginal dots. Cf. List No. 356.		30	brown	1
358	11	A disk with at least two marginal dots. Cf. List No. 356.		32	brown	1
359	12			25, 30	buff	2
360	13	Two concentric circles enclosing a central dot and surrounded by six others placed in a regular hexagon. Cf. p. 7, note 2, b; Waring, pls. xxx, 4, xl, 2; Greg, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xxi, 'Solar symbols'; Goodyear, pl. xxxviii (fr. Salzmann); Sacken, pl. xxiv, 9.	21	26	red	1
361	14	Fragment of a figure in dots.		28	buff	1
362	15	The ornamental figure contains a cross.		38	red	1
363	16	An impressed disk with a central dot, surrounded by seven dots. Compare No. 13 on this PLATE.		28	brown	1
364	17	The upper figure (a shield?) is in relief.		28	red	1
365	18	A circle with coarse marginal dots. Cf. List No. 351.		29	brown	1
366	19			45	red	1
	20	The same kind of stamp as No. 2 on this PLATE.		32	brown	1
367	21			36	red	1

LIST NO.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND
	V	No stamp on this PLATE has any letters.				
368	1	This stamp is very much like No. 2 on this PLATE.		28	brown	1
369	2	This stamp is very much like No. 1 on this PLATE.		40	brown	2
370	3	A star with six rays in relief, or possibly a Christ monogram, X P combined, the P being indistinct. See p. 7, notes 1 and 2, and compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1729; Rostowzew, pls. ix, 66, x, 63; Richter, pp. 17, 20, 21; K. O. Müller, II, Beil. 2, pl. xvii, 28; <i>Palest. Explor.</i> 1902, pp. 335, 336, 'Potters' marks'; Kraus, II, pp. 412-416, 224-238, 433-445 and fig. 135; Cumont, II, figs. 257, 258, 293; Marucchi, <i>Not. gén.</i> pp. 164-166; De Rossi, <i>Museo Pio-Lat.</i> pl. xix, 7; Wilpert, <i>Roma sott. text.</i> , pp. 118, 182; Mortillet, fig. 58; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. vii; Waring, pls. vi, 83, xxxxiv, 22.		23	red	1
	4	See No. 10 on this PLATE, which is a more complete stamp of the same kind.		27	red, brown	2
371	5	The upper part of this stamp resembles the upper part of No. 11 on this PLATE and the fragmentary lower part of PLATE VII, 4 (List No. 406). Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1613; Kraus, II, figs. 126, 138, 155 and others; Good-year, pl. lxiii, 5. About the two disks with a central hole or dot, which may represent paterae or shields, see p. 7, notes 1 and 2; compare the figure in List Nos. 79, 96, and Rostowzew, pl. vi, 62.		33	red	1
372	6	A star with eight rays in relief. Compare p. 7, note 2, <i>a</i> and <i>b</i> ; Cohen, III, pl. xv, 200 and others; Cumont, II, figs. 8, 246, 293; <i>Bull. Corr. Hell.</i> XXIII (1899), pl. i; Tylor, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 1 (1884), pp. 241-244, pl. xii, fig. 5; Kraus, II, p. 231; Bacci, <i>Bull. Crist.</i> VIII (1902), p. 128, and Wilpert, <i>ibid.</i> p. 10, fig. 5, <i>a</i> ; Wilpert, <i>Roma sott. text.</i> p. 183, fig. 17, and pls., No. 22; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pls. vii, viii; Masner, pl. i, 31; Waring, pl. v, 67, <i>a</i> ; Worsaae, fig. 151, <i>c, f</i> ; Wood-Martin, fig. 396.		28, 35	red	2
373	7			27	brown	1
374	8	A star with six rays. See No. 3 on this PLATE.		24	brown	1
375	9	Resembles a palmette. Compare the upper part of Nos. 5 and 11 on this PLATE, and see references for the former; also the fragmentary lower part of PLATE VII, 4 (List No. 406), and PLATE III, 5 (List No. 341).		30	red	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND
	V	<i>Continued.</i>				
376	10	The same kind of stamp as No. 4 on this PLATE, but more complete, though less perfect in some parts.		27	red	1
377	11	This stamp resembles No. 5 on this PLATE. See references given for that. The round figures may represent paterae, or shields.		31	red, brown	2
378	12	A small impressed figure at the bottom of the specimen.		28	brown	1
379	13			30	red	1
380	14	A square combined with two disks. One of these shows between the square hole in the centre and the outer margin two pairs of delicate concentric circles in relief. Compare PLATE VI, 8 (List No. 392), which they resemble; also Rostowzew, pl. vi, 62, and p. 7, notes 1 and 2, above.		37-38	brown	1
381	15			28	brown	1
382	16	Compare No. 14 on this PLATE.		28	brown	1
383	17	A large circle enclosing five groups (arranged like a cross) of small concentric circles. Compare C.I.L. XV, ii, 1, p. 860, <i>pp</i> ; Waring, pl. xxxiv, 2; Keller, pl. cxl, 3.		30	red	1
384	18	There are two figures, at least, one shaped like a regular hexagon, the other a set of three concentric circles. For the latter compare PLATE VI, 4, 6, 16, 18 (List Nos. 388, 390, 400, 402), and the references given for them.		30, 31	buff, red	2
	VI	No stamp on this PLATE has any letters. Nos. 1-5, 8-15, and 17 may represent paterae, or shields: cf. p. 7, notes 1 and 2.				
385	1	An impressed disk (patera, or shield?). Compare the large figure in No. 4 on this PLATE, and the references given for it; also Rostowzew, pl. vi, 9.	60	31	buff	1
386	2	Two disks with concentric circles. Compare the large figure in No. 4 on this PLATE; Rostowzew, pl. vi, 9; Issel, <i>Bull. di Paletn. It.</i> XV (1889), pl. i.	46, 37	32	brown	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	VI	<i>Continued.</i>				
387	3	An impressed ring with a small one in the centre. Compare Nos. 4, 5 on this PLATE, <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 190, 49, and <i>Hunterian Roman Stones</i> , pl. viii, fig. 4.	27	34	brown	1
388	4	A large and a small round stamp, apparently identical with the figures in PLATE III, 14 (List No. 223). The latter consists of two concentric circles with a round hole or coarse dot in the centre; compare List Nos. 198, 203, and 213 (resembling Marini, No. 1219), which have likewise a point enclosed by two concentric circles in the centre; also Kraus, II, figs. 128, 141, 169; <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, ii, 1, pl. iii, 16; <i>Hunterian Roman Stones</i> , pl. viii, 1; Smith, II (1852), pl. xlvi (ii), III (n.d.), pl. xii, 2, 5; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. i, 1, 2; Waring, pls. xxvi, 340, xxviii, 18, 23; Evans, figs. 140, 142, 166; Undset, fig. 22, pl. v, 1; Dryden, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xxiii, 2; <i>Mykenische Vasen</i> , pls. c, 37, xliv (431); <i>Olympia</i> , IV, pl. xxxi, 591; Wide, <i>Athen. Mith.</i> XXII (1897), p. 241; Sacken, pls. xi, 3, xv, 5; Keller, pl. cxl, 1; Wood-Martin, figs. 15, 76, 79, 272, 394-396; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), fig. 3, a; Boni, <i>Notizie degli Scavi</i> , 1903, p. 163, fig. 43; Munro, <i>Lake-dwellings</i> , figs. 109, 162, and others. The former looks as if three concentric disks of varying diameter had been impressed to different depths. Compare Fabretti, pp. 63-70; Cumont, II, p. 814; Wood-Martin, fig. 15; Munro, <i>Prehist. Scotland</i> , fig. 143. Similar stamps not figured.	52, 19	36	buff	1
389	5	A circular stamp. Compare Nos. 3 outer circle, and 4 on this PLATE. A similar stamp not represented.	39 <i>ca.</i> 38	31 42	brown red	1 1
390	6	A round stamp, consisting of four concentric circles around a hole in the centre. Compare Fortunati, p. 65, No. 87; Mortillet, fig. 33; Waring, pls. iv, 55, xxvii, 2, 3, 6, xxviii, 19, 20, 22; Evans, figs. 458, 509; Undset, pls. xxvi, 17, xxviii, 1; Greg, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xx, one of figs. 7; Kraus, II, fig. 169; <i>Olympia</i> , IV, pls. xxxi, xxxiii; Goodyear, pls. xvi, 3, lvi, 13, lvii, 14-16; Wood-Martin, fig. 15; Issel, <i>Bull. di Paletn. It.</i> XV (1889), pl. i.	50	39	brown	1
391	7	A small impressed disk. Compare the figure in List Nos. 74, 75, and the remarks under List No. 409. Similar stamps not figured.	<i>ca.</i> 17 19	34 28, 31	brown brown	1 2

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND
	VI	<i>Continued.</i>				
392	8	A large disk with a large round hole in the centre. Between the latter and the outer margin are two pairs of delicate concentric circles in relief. Compare PLATE V, 14 and 16; Rostowzew, pl. vi, 62; Evans, fig. 464; Montelius, <i>Temps préhist.</i> fig. 108, a.	58	37	brown	1
393	9	A round stamp. Compare No. 4 on this PLATE.	ca. 36	31	buff	1
394	10	An impressed disk with a round hole in the centre. Compare PLATE V, 5, 11 (List Nos. 371, 377). A similar stamp not represented. A similar stamp not represented. Similar stamps not represented.	35	ca. 30	red	1
			30	34	red	1
			42	36	brown	1
			44	28-31	brown	3
395	11	Two round stamps. Compare the large figure in No. 4 on this PLATE and the references given for it.	46, 43	28	brown	1
396	12	A large impressed circle with a round hole or coarse dot in the centre. Perhaps a patera, cf. p. 7, notes 1 and 2. Compare K. O. Müller, pl. vi, 9; Conway, II, table: θ, o; C.I.L. No. 1660, a (List No. 233?); Marini, Nos. 1194, 1202, 1203, 1206, 1215; Rostowzew, pls. iii, 12, vi, 39, x, 13; Smith, II (1852), pls. xli, 4, liv, 5, lvi, 3, III (n.d.), pl. xii; H. Schmidt, pl. viii, 5288; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. x, 1; Waring, pl. iv, 63; Evans, figs. 137, 138; Undset, xxiv, 6; Greg, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xxi, 'Solar Symbols'; <i>Olympia</i> , IV, xx, 333; Goodyear, pp. 81-85, fig. 54; Sacken, pls. xviii, 24, xix, 4-6; Wood-Martin, figs. 15, 79, 80, 174, p. 535; Borlase, II, figs. 313, 322, and table, p. 342; Munro, <i>Prehist. Scott.</i> figs. 140, 142, and pl. iv, 1 and 11; Wilpert, <i>Roma sott.</i> pls., No. 28; <i>Palest. Explor.</i> 1904, Oct., pl. iii, 1. Similar stamps not represented.	50	35	buff	1
			ca. 50	28-34	buff, brown	3
397	13	Three round stamps. Compare the small figure in No. 4 on this PLATE, the round figures in PLATE V, 5.	26, 38, 24	31	red	1
398	14	Round holes and groups of two concentric circles. Regarding the latter, compare Smith, VII (1880), p. 198, pl. xix, 6; Evans, figs. 139, 141; Undset, pl. v, 1; Sacken, pl. xviii, 25; <i>Mykenische Vasen</i> , pl. xliii (431); Greg, <i>Archaeologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xx, figs. 2 and 26, a; Kraus, II, figs. 118, 134, 169; Worsaae, fig. 150, d; Wood-Martin, fig. 395; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), fig. 15, b; Sehested, pl. xxvii, 19, a. A similar stamp less complete.	ca. 11, 41, 24	27	red	1
				27	buff	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	VI	<i>Continued.</i>				
399	15	Three concentric circles around a small hole or coarse dot in the centre. Compare the small figure in No. 4, No. 6, the lower figure in No. 16 on this PLATE, and the references given for them; also <i>C.I.L.</i> No. 1578, <i>a</i> , which has a similar figure in the centre; Clermont-Ganneau, II, p. 476; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. x, 4; <i>Olympia</i> , IV, pls. xxxi–xxxiii; Wood-Martin, figs. 15, 390, 396, 402, and 409 (7); Montelius, <i>Sculptures</i> , fig. 26; Issel, <i>Bull. di Paletn. It.</i> XV (1889), pl. i.	30	30	brown	1
400	16	Two round stamps: the lower one has five concentric rings; compare Nos. 6 and 18 on this PLATE, and the references given for the former; also Smith, III (n.d.), p. 139, Nos. 3, 4, IV (1857), pl. xxv, 3, and VII (1880), p. 175; Waring, pls. i, 11, <i>a</i> , iv, 55, 62, xxvii, 2, 3, 6, 7, xxviii, 20, 22; <i>Mycenae</i> , No. 403; Evans, fig. 429; Goodyear, fig. 46, pl. lvii, 4, 6, 15, 16; Wood-Martin, figs. 81, 267; Munro, <i>Prehist. Scotland</i> , figs. 138, 141, 142, pl. iv, 2; Keller, pl. clxxxix, 2;—the upper one has a double spiral; compare <i>Mycenae</i> , Nos. 144, 147, 149 and others, pl. viii, 30; <i>Mykenische Vasen</i> . pls. xxix, xxxvi; Barnabei, <i>Monum. ant.</i> IV (1894), fig. 103; Munro, <i>op. cit.</i> fig. 137.	52, 42	31	brown	1
401	17	A round stamp with concentric zones at different level. Compare the large figure in No. 4 on this PLATE.	25	33	buff	1
402	18	A round stamp consisting of five concentric circles at equal intervals enclosing a round central hole. Compare No. 6 and the lower figure in No. 16 on this PLATE, and the references; also Montelius, <i>Sculptures</i> , figs. 29, 33. Similar stamps not represented.	ca. 50	30	buff	1
			44, 46, 47, 48	30–33 and 42	buff, red, or brown	5
	VII	No stamp on this PLATE has any letters. Nos. 1–3 and 6–8 may represent paterae, or shields; cf. p. 7, notes 1 and 2.				
403	1	A circular stamp. Compare PLATE VI, 1 (List No. 385), the large figure in PLATE VI, 4 (List No. 388), and the references given for the latter; PLATE VI, 11 (List No. 395); Vagliari, <i>Bull. Com.</i> XXXI (1903), p. 43. A similar stamp not represented.	39	26	brown	1
				30	brown	1

LIST NO.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	NO. FOUND
VII	<i>Continued.</i>					
404	2	A large and a small circular stamp. Compare PLATES III, 14, and VI, 4, and the references given for them. Similar stamps not represented.	44, 19 40, 16	39 26, 37	buff brown	1 2
405	3	A small impressed circle with a central dot. Compare PLATE VI, 12 (List No. 396), No. 7 on this PLATE, and the references given for them; also Rostowzew, pl. xii, 4. Similar stamps not represented.	18 15	29 30-31	red red or brown	1 3
406	4	A round hole, a small disk, and a large disk. Under the large disk is a part of a figure with spirals (palmette?). Compare PLATE V, 5, 9, 11 (List Nos. 371, 375, 377), and the references given for them. Stamps not represented, consisting only of an impressed disk like the large one in this stamp. Compare the figure in List Nos. 74 and 75. Two other stamps not represented, each consisting of three disks. The largest,	ca. 23-26 25-26	26-31 35, 44	red, buff, or brown buff or brown	5 2
407	5	A square stamp that consists of grating, about 25 x 25 mm. Probably the kind referred to by P. Crostarosa (<i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> II (1896), p. 59, No. 18) as a "specie di grattello anepigrafa." Compare <i>Palest. Explor.</i> 1902, pp. 335, 336, 'Potters' marks,' 2; Taramelli, <i>Monum. ant.</i> IX (1899), p. 439, fig. 60; Smith, II (1852), pls. liii, 7, liv, 5; Miln, b, pl. xi, 3; S. Müller, I, fig. 81, j.		25	red	1
408	6	A circle with a round hole in the centre. See p. 7, note 1, and compare PLATE VI, 12 (List No. 396), No. 7 on this PLATE, and the references given for them. Other similar stamps not represented consisting of a large circle only. See p. 7, note 1.	23 ca. 18-22	29 27-30	brown brown	1 4
409	7	Three small circular stamps. See p. 7, note 1, compare Nos. 2, 3, 6, on this PLATE, PLATE VI, 12 (List No. 396), and the references given for the last. Any stamp like one of these might be the figure described vaguely by P. Crostarosa as a "piccolo tondo," <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> VII (1901), p. 136, No. 42.	18, 21, 18	35	buff	1
410	8	An impressed disk with a round hole in the centre. Compare PLATE V, 5 (List No. 371), and the references given for it, especially Rostowzew, pl. vi, 62. Similar stamps not represented.	34 26, 27, 28	35 26-29	brown buff or brown	1 3

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	VII	<i>Continued.</i>				
411	9	An impressed disk; in its centre a slight depression. Compare PLATE V, 5 (List No. 371), and the references for it; also PLATES V, 11, and VI, 10, 13. Similar stamps not represented.	37½	29	brown	1
				26–33	red or brown	6
412	10	A large impressed disk enclosed by a more deeply impressed circle, perhaps accidental. Compare No. 13 on this PLATE. Another similar figure not represented.	67	31	buff	1
			46	41	buff	1
413	11	An unusual circular stamp.	20	23	red	1
414	12	A reticulated surface. The sides of each little square = 7–9 mm. Probably the kind of stamp described by P. Crostarosa as a "specie di reticolato senza iscrizione," <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> II (1896), p. 74, No. 84. A common ornamental pattern, painted or incised, of ancient pottery and stucco. Compare Conze, <i>Melische Thongefäße</i> , pl. ii; Waring, pl. ii, 26; <i>Mykenische Vasen</i> , pls. xxii, 159, xxiv, 183, a, and others; <i>Mykenische Thongefäße</i> , pl. v, 24; Goodyear, pls. xlviii, 5, 1, 14; Wilpert, <i>Roma sott.</i> , pls. No. 201; Quagliati, <i>Not. Scavi</i> , 1902, p. 581.				
415	13	Several impressed circles, possibly in part accidental. Compare No. 10 on this PLATE; K. O. Müller, Beil. 2, pl. 9 and 16, or Conway, II, table: o; Waring, pls. xii, 157, xxviii, 25, xxxviii, 1, 7; Wood-Martin, figs. 15, 394–396.	27	30	red	1
416	14	A large impressed circle, possibly accidental. Compare Nos. 10 and 13 on this PLATE. Another similar figure.	ca. 60	34	brown	1
				31	brown	1
417	15	An unusual little stamp, about 27 mm. long.		20–26	red or brown	3
418	16	A striated rectangle in relief, about 35 mm. wide, with a round depression near one end.		30	red	1
	VIII	About the dotted figures and letters, cf. p. 7, notes 1 and 2.				
419	1	A cross of coarse dots. Compare PLATE IX, 2, and C.I.L. XV. 1, No. 1731, b, which is the figure recorded by L. Fortunati, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 19, No. 43; K. O. Müller, Beil. 2, pl. xv, 31, ii, 25, and others; Richter, pp. 8, 10, and 41; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 6, 10.		29	brown	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	VIII	<i>Continued.</i>				
420	2	Two dotted letters, perhaps I or N, and C or G; a point between them. The second is 43 mm. high. Compare p. 7, note 1.		30	buff	1
421	3	A dotted letter E, about 41 mm. high. Compare No. 4 on this PLATE and the references for it.		35	brown	1
422	4	Three dotted letters, ΗΓΕΙ, 32–37 mm. high. Compare Richter, p. 9, No. 5, a, p. 10, Nos. 16, 19, and p. 40; Marriott, pp. 63, 71; Conway, II, table.		30–33	buff	1
423	5	Probably two letters: V and Y. Compare Zvetaieff, Plates, p. 'Formae,' 21 and 18; Conway, II, table: <i>ü</i> and <i>t</i> ; Richter, p. 15, Nos. 2, 3, 6, and p. 42; Marriott, p. 63.		32–35	buff	1
424	6	A rectangle, 61 × 34 mm., with five dots within, like a domino, and with traces below of an adjoining figure with scrolls. Compare No. 15 on this PLATE.		35	brown	1
425	7	A forked figure in dots. The greatest horizontal width is about 51 mm. Compare Nos. 11 and 5 on this PLATE; Conway, II, table: <i>ü</i> ; Masner, p. 84, Nos. 773–776, and plate; C.I.L. XV, ii, 1, pl. iii, 22; Rostowzew, pl. ix, 76.		37	brown	1
	8	A round stamp with letters: List No. 233.				
426	9	A figure like a sistrum. Compare <i>Athen. Mitt.</i> XXIV (1899), p. 387, No. 10 on this PLATE, and PLATE IX, 18.		30	brown	1
427	10	A dotted figure like a trident, about 108 mm. high. Compare Nos. 13 and 9 on this PLATE. A very similar figure is given by Fortunati, p. 19, No. 44. The same design, in lines instead of dots, occurs among the stone-masons' marks figured by A. Sogliano, <i>Notizie degli Scavi</i> , 1898, p. 69, and 1901, pp. 357–361; similar ones are mentioned by Richter, p. 15 (7, 8), and Marriott, pp. 65–69. Compare also K. O. Müller, Beil. 2, pl. v, 28 and 29; Greg, <i>Archæologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xxi, 'Water' and 'Water Symbols.'		33	brown	1
428	11	A forked figure nearly identical with No. 7 on this PLATE. See the references given there. Both bricks have also a small circular stamp in the same relative position. Compare the latter with the small figure in PLATE VI, 4 (List No. 388), and the references.		34	buff	1
	12	List No. 146. The figure is inverted, as the stamp was not understood until photographed.				

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	VIII	<i>Continued.</i>				
429	13	Part of a dotted figure like a trident. Compare this PLATE, Nos. 9 and 10, and see references for the latter. Width of top about 40 mm. Other similar stamps not represented.		32 29-35	brown red, buff, or brown	1 7
430	14	Part of a figure in dots: a vessel with base (?).		29	buff	1
431	15	A rectangle, 31 × 51 mm., with five little impressed disks within, like a domino. Another figure with scrolls seems to be added at the upper end. Perhaps the same kind of stamp as No. 6 on this PLATE, but a little smaller. Compare K. O. Müller, II, Beil. 2, pl. xv, 31.		37	brown	1
	IX	About the dotted figures, cf. p. 7, notes 1 and 2.				
432	1	Many parallel incised lines close together.		30	red	1
433	2	A cross in dots. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, 1, No. 1731, b, which is the figure recorded by Fortunati, p. 19, No. 43; also PLATE VIII, 1 (List No. 419), and W. Dennison, <i>Amer. Journ. Arch.</i> IX (1905), pp. 19, 32-43.		27-30	brown	1
434	3	A dotted figure: tree, arrow-head, or grapes (?). Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, ii, 1, p. 860, <i>mmmm, nnnn</i> ; Waring, pl. vi, 88; Kraus, II, figs. 126, 536; Armellini, <i>Ant. Cim.</i> p. 454.		29	brown	1
435	4	Fragment of a dotted figure, perhaps a cross. Compare Nos. 13 and 2 on this PLATE; PLATE VIII, 1, and the references given for it; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 13.		30	buff	1
436	5	A dotted figure. Compare Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 13 on this PLATE, and the references given for them.		24-28	buff	1
	6	A lettered stamp: List No. 232. The letters are too much worn to be read.				
	7	A lettered stamp: List No. 76.				
437	8	Fragment of a figure in dots.		34	red	1
438	9	A cross in dots beside an impressed circle with a central dot. Compare No. 2 on this PLATE, and the references given for it; <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, ii, 1, p. 860, <i>nn</i> ; PLATE VI, 12 (List No. 396), and the references for it.	45	30	red	1

LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	IX	<i>Continued.</i>				
439	10	A circular stamp and a fragment of a figure in dots. Compare PLATE VI, 4 (List No. 388), and the references.		32	buff	1
	11	A lettered stamp: List No. 222.				
440	12	Fragment of a figure in dots.		32	brown	1
	13	Fragment of a figure in dots, apparently identical with No. 4 on this PLATE. See the references there.		32	buff	1
441	14	Five coarse dots, 7-9 mm. in diameter, arranged like a cross. Compare K. O. Müller, II, Beil. 2, pl. xv, 31; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 6; Crostarosa, <i>Bull. Crist.</i> V (1899), p. 276, No. 20; <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 188, 20; Sacken, pl. ix, 3; Keller, pl. cxl, 5.		28	brown	1
442	15	Fragment of a figure in dots.		30-32	brown	1
443	16	Three coarse dots, 7-9 mm. in diameter, arranged in a triangle. Compare K. O. Müller, pl. xix, xx, 31; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 5, a and b; Kraus, II, figs. 144, 154, 162; Sehested, pls. xxvi, 16, a, xxvii, 19, a, 20.		32	brown	1
444	17	A small impressed circle with a central dot, surrounded by four dots arranged in a square. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, i, No. 1591, c; Smith, II (1852), pl. xliv, 5.		30	red	1
445	18	Fragment of a figure in dots, somewhat like PLATE VIII, 9 (List No. 426). Compare also List No. 427.		35-40	red	1
446	19	Fragment of a figure in dots, resembling PLATE VIII, 7 (List No. 425). See the references given there.		31-33	buff	1
447	20	Little holes, or coarse impressed dots, 5-7 mm. in diameter, arranged in a circle, one being in the middle. Compare <i>C.I.L.</i> XV, i, No. 1579, a (List No. 204); Smith, II (1852), pl. xliv, 7; Conze, <i>Melische Thongefässer</i> , pl. i, 3, iii, or Goodyear, pl. ix, 8; Conze, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. x, 4; Waring, pls. viii, 99, xi, 143, 147, xxxvii, 14, xliv, 22, <i>Mycenae</i> , No. 281; <i>Olympia</i> , IV, pl. xix, 312; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 8, 15; Issel, <i>Bull. di Paletn. It.</i> XV (1889), pl. i; Evans, fig. 287; Sehested, pl. xxxiii, 48; <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 190, 46.		24, 25	brown	2
448	21	Three small disks, part of a larger figure? Compare No. 16 on this PLATE, and <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 186, 3.	ca. 12-13	33	buff	1

LIST NO.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	X					
449	1	Three coarse concentric rings, probably drawn with the finger tips.	ca. 117	28	brown	1
450	2	Many dots in straight and curved lines. Compare Waring, pl. ix, 122; Munro, <i>Prehist. Scotl.</i> fig. 143.		31-39	brown	1
451	3	Dots arranged with some regularity, perhaps a letter. Compare K. O. Müller (<i>Beil.</i> 2), pl. iii, 22, and others; Conway, II, table: t; Borlase, II, fig. 313.		30	brown	1
452	4	A palm-leaf, probably drawn with the finger tips. Some early Christian monograms similarly made are figured in <i>Atti del 2º Congresso internaz. di Archeol. Crist.</i> Rome, 1903, by A. L. Delattre, Art. 'La Croix,' pp. 185-187, figs. 2-5 (the last two upside down). This fragment may have belonged to an early Christian sepulchral tile, as the palm-leaf occurs very frequently with Christian inscriptions. Compare, for example, <i>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae</i> , I (1857-61), p. 446, No. 982; Marucchi, <i>Not. gén.</i> , p. 162; Wilpert, <i>Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Crist.</i> VIII (1902), p. 6. But the palm-leaf was also much used on pagan Latin inscriptions, and on leaden tokens (Rostowzew, pls. i, 24, ii, 28, iv, 50). Compare <i>Inscr. Graec.</i> IV, p. 188, Nos. 24-26.		42	brown	1
453	5	Dots arranged in circles around a central dot. Compare PLATE IX, 20 (List No. 447) and the references.	ca. 44	32-35	red	1
454	6	Fragment of a figure in dots?		28	brown	1
455	7	Two coarse zig-zag lines, perhaps intended to represent water. See also 12 on this PLATE. A common symbol and ornament on ancient pottery. Compare, for example, Conze, <i>Melische Thongefässer</i> , pl. i, ii, <i>Anfänge</i> , pl. iii, 4, 5; Waring, pls. vii-ix and others; Evans, fig. 32; <i>Monum. Inediti</i> , IX, pls. iv, xxxix, 1; Greg, <i>Archæologia</i> , XLVIII, 2 (1885), pl. xx, one of figs. 7, and pl. xxi 'Water Symbols.' Wood-Martin, figs. 393, 401 (3, 4); Munro, <i>Prehist. Scotl.</i> fig. 141. Zig-zags are an ideogram for water in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing; cf. Erman, p. 183 (N. 4), p. 184 (N. 55).		27-37	brown	1
456	8	Two parallel lines of dots: fragments of a figure?		30-34	buff	1
457	9	Numerous dots in lines: letters, or a figure?		30	brown	1
458	10	Dots roughly arranged in concentric circles (?) Compare No. 5 on this PLATE; also PLATE IX, 20 (List No. 447), and the references for it.		37	red	1

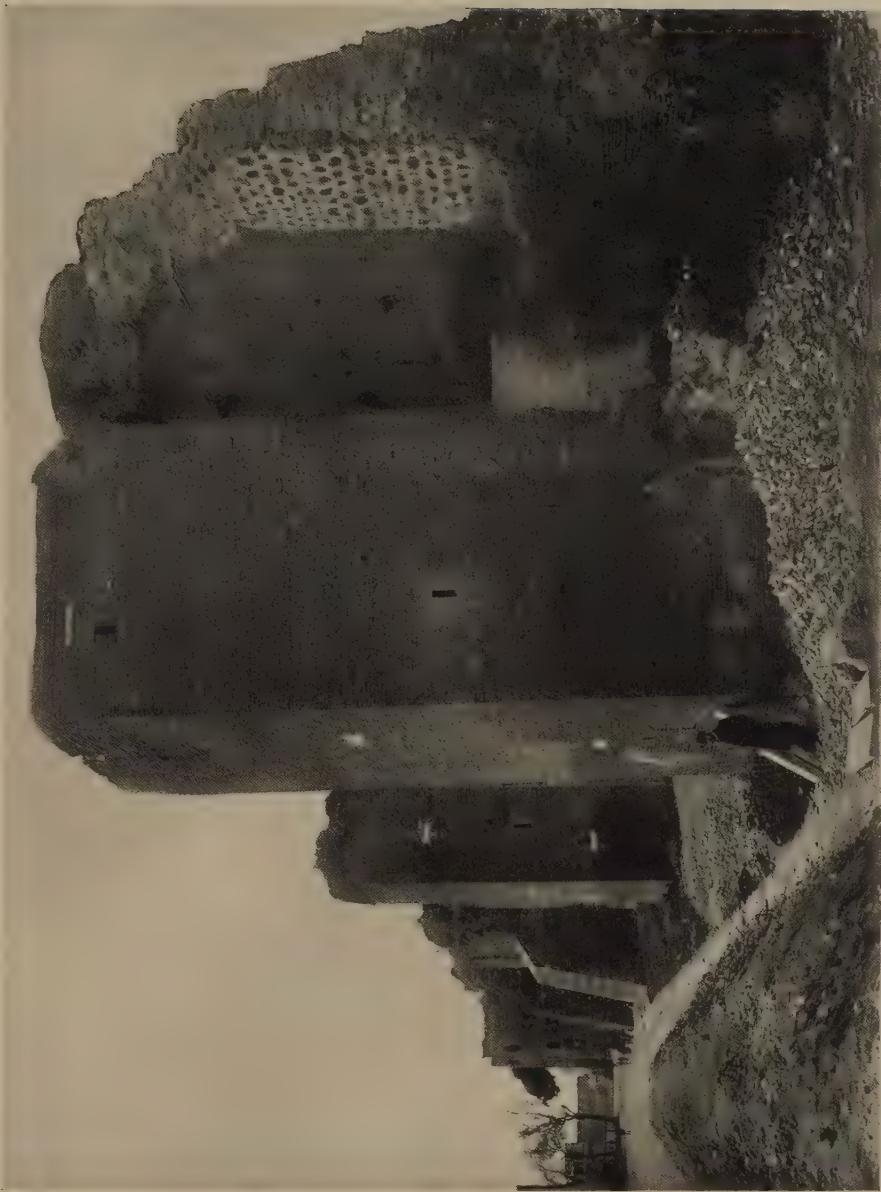
LIST No.	PLATE	REMARKS	DIAMETER MM.	AVERAGE THICKNESS MM.	COLOR	No. FOUND
	X	<i>Continued.</i>				
459	11	Small and large dots, the former roughly arranged in a square? Compare Waring, pl. xliv, 22; Ghirardini, <i>Monum. ant.</i> VII (1897), pl. ii, 9; Conway, II, table: h.		36	brown	1
460	12	Two coarse wavy lines, perhaps a pagan or early Christian symbol for water. Compare No. 7 on this PLATE (List No. 455), and the references given for it.		35	brown	1
461	13	Numerous dots in lines. Compare No. 2 on this PLATE (List No. 450), and the references given for it.		34-35	buff	1
462	14	Dimensions 30 × 50 mm. The inner lines follow the outline of the stamp.		40-42	red, brown	2
463	15	Numerous dots arranged in the shape of a leaf or spear-head.		.. 33	buff	1
464	16	Irregular coarse lines very probably accidental.	..			1

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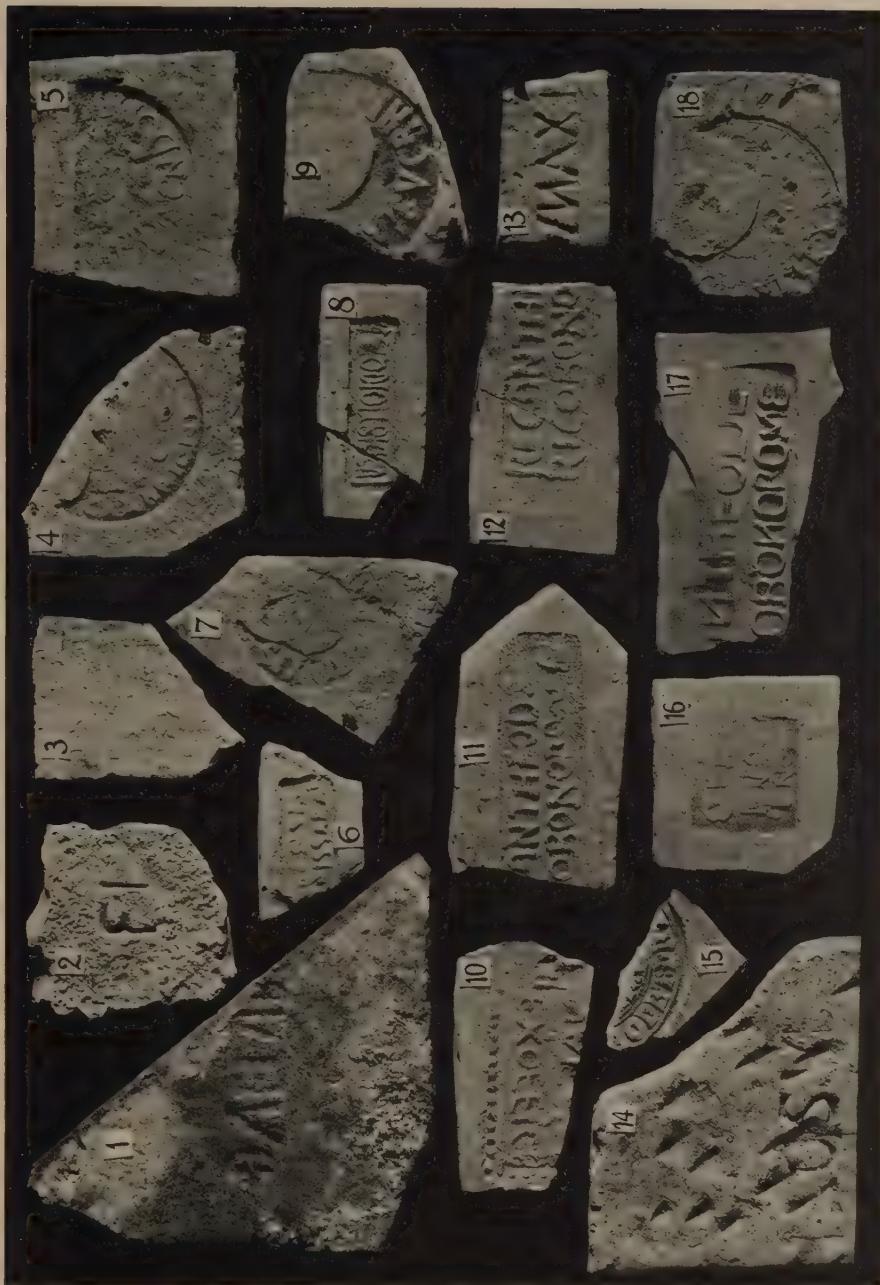
January, 1905.



VIEW OF THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME EAST OF THE PORTA SAN GIOVANNI

The leaning tower in the foreground stands at the west end of the breach, and is the fifth from the gate, which may be seen in the distance

See p. 72



STAMPS ON BRICKS AND TILES FROM THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME



STAMPS ON BRICKS AND TILES FROM THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME

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STAMPS ON BRICKS AND TILES FROM THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME

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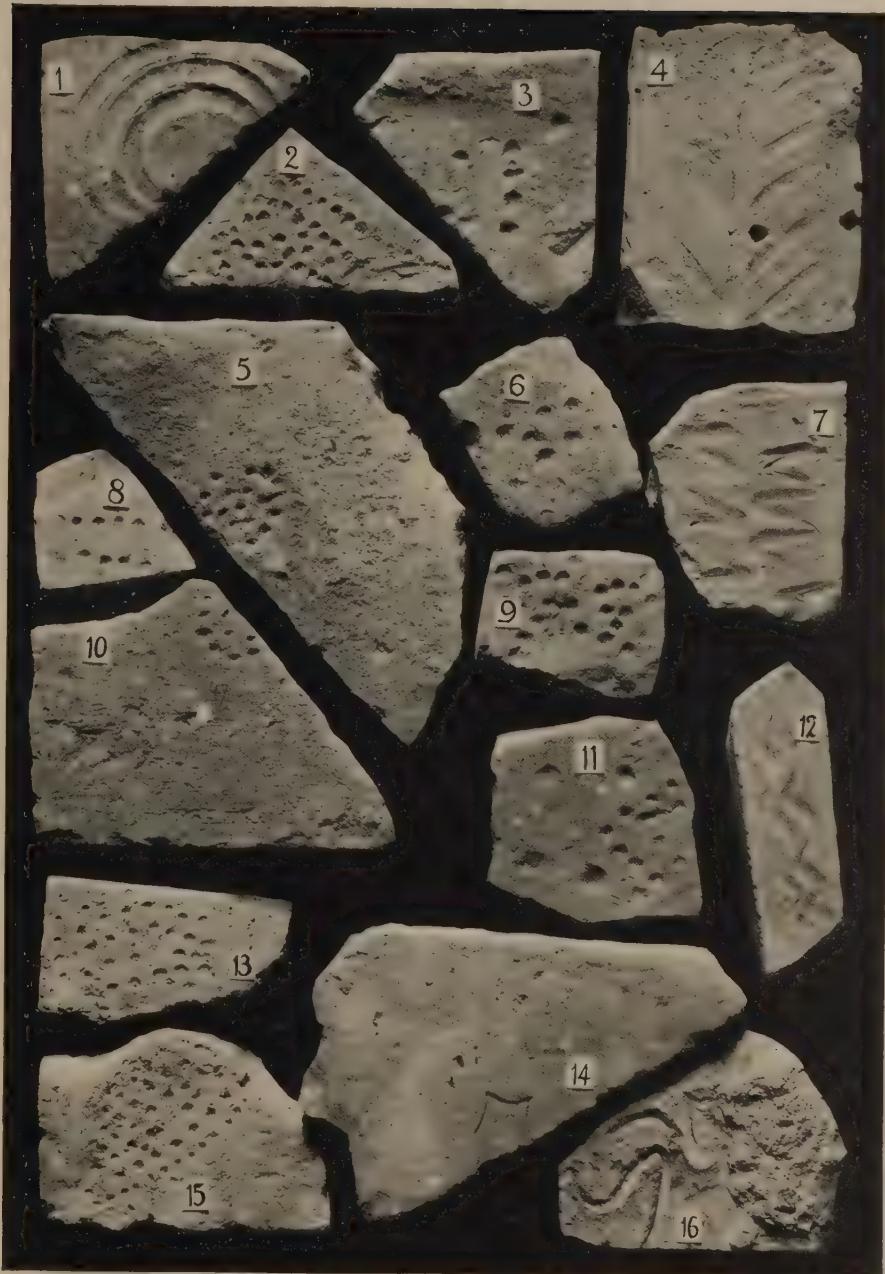


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STAMPS ON BRICKS AND TILES FROM THE AURELIAN WALL AT ROME

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LA CIVITA NEAR ARTENA IN THE PROVINCE OF ROME

[PLATES XI, XII]

THE remains of an ancient city which form the object of these researches are situated upon a lofty plateau at the northern extremity of the Volscian Mountains (now known as the Monti Lepini) at a distance of a mile or so from the village of Artena dei Volsci or Monte Fortino, as it was called till 1873. The ascent from the bottom of the village, involving as it does a steep climb of some 1000 feet, takes as a rule about an hour. This plateau is known as the Piano della Civita ("the plateau of the old town"—for this is the constant meaning of Civita in Italy) and attains a maximum elevation of 632 m. (2078½ feet) above sea-level. It is isolated on the east and west by deep ravines, and is connected only on the south side with the main range of hills; but even on this side the ground falls away rather sharply, except along a narrow neck, which is traversed by the path to Rocca Massima (identified by many topographers with the Arx Carventana of Livy (IV, 53, 55, 56), though there is no decisive evidence either positive or negative). The view is very fine and extensive, embracing the Alban Hills from Velletri to Rocca Priora, the Hernican Mountains and the valley of the Sacco, and a part of the Pomptine Marshes with the sea beyond. The site is, in fact, the last outpost to the north of the Volscian range, and projects a long way forward of it. (See Map of La Civita near Artena and Environs, PLATE XI.)

The distance from Rome to the modern village of Artena is only twenty-four miles as the crow flies, while by the Via Latina, which passes just below Artena to the north, it is twenty-seven; but the train-service is by no means good, while the village itself contains, as far as the senses can perceive, no decent night-quarters, and the virtue of cleanliness seems to be at a discount. An early start from Rome and a late return were found to give five hours at the most for work on the site, and often even less time was available. It will be obvious that these circumstances have added considerably to the difficulties of our task; but perhaps the greatest disappointment was the discovery, made when the survey was already well in progress, that the site had been previously described, and a plan made, by M. René de la Blanchère (*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, vol. I (1881), pp. 161–180, and plates iv, v). Further study proved, however, that his plan, although correct in its general outlines, was susceptible of improvement and amplification; while the description was capable of being supplemented by a series of adequate illustrations, the single sketch of a fragment of the city-wall (taken from the southern part of the west side)

given by M. de la Blanchère being decidedly unsatisfactory. It was thought better, therefore, to complete the survey (see Plan, PLATE XII) and to publish the results.

The identification of the site with any of the ancient towns of the district, the names of which have been preserved to us, is not easy. De la Blanchère discusses the question at length and (p. 178) inclines to see in the name Monte Fortino, which belonged to the village in 1226 (Nibby, *Analisi della Carta dei Dintorni di Roma*, vol. I, p. 264, citing F. Contelori's history of the Conti family (*Genealogia Familiae Comitum Romanorum*, Rome, 1650), who were once its owners), a survival of the Φορτινεῖον, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (V, 61) among the thirty cities which formed the Latin league in or about the year 384 B.C. (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 1903, vol. I, p. 448); and he further identifies with them the Foretii, who occur in the list given by Pliny (*N.H.* III, 5; 69) of the peoples of Latium who, at the time at which he wrote, had utterly disappeared.

The modern name of the village is the result of the adoption of the theory of Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, p. 110) and Nibby (*op. cit.* p. 262). Artena is mentioned only once, by Livy (IV, 61):

"Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepit. inde inter eruptionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta. in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit, infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. arx deinde obsidebatur: nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidiis habebat, aut spem dahat deditiois omni publico frumento, priusquam urbs caperetur, in arcem convecto. taedioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem Romanis prodiisset. ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo repentina pavore oppressa in deditioem venit. diruta et arce et urbe Artena reductae legiones ex Volscis, omnisque vis Romana Veios conversa est."

From this description it will be seen that Artena was a city having a citadel distinct from the rest of the town; but Nibby is wrong in believing that this is the case at La Civita. As de la Blanchère points out (p. 174), the great terrace (No. 11 on our Plan) cannot have been the arx. One might suppose that to have occupied the eminence to the north-northwest (which is connected with the rest of the hill only by a narrow neck) if it were not that this presents no traces of walls whatsoever, and would seem to have been omitted from the circuit of the city. It is precisely at this point that the road from the north entered it (No. 2 on the Plan).

Other names have been suggested: Ortona¹ (Liv. III, 30), Corbio (*ibid.*), which both seem to have been situated in the Alban Hills, and finally Ecetra, the position of which, as indicated in the classical authors, accords fairly well with that of the Piano della Civita (Liv. III, 4, 10; VI, 31. Dionys. IV, 49; X, 21). It seems to have been situated on the edge of the territory of the Volsci, and close to that of the Aequi, and also to have been on that side of the Volscian Hills which is closest to Algidus: both these features would agree with the site of La Civita. It was absolutely destroyed in 378 B.C., and Pliny enumerates it among the lost cities of Latium. It seems, therefore, at least possible to identify La Civita with Ecetra, though the similarity

¹ This place seems to be mentioned also by Dionysius (VIII, 91; X, 26), but in both cases the reading is doubtful (de la Blanchère, p. 176).

of the name Monte Fortino with that of the Φορτινεῖοι or *Foretii* has something to recommend it. But in either case, the statements of our classical authorities that these places were utterly destroyed would require to be taken *cum grano*; and it would perhaps be wiser to assume their correctness, and refuse to attempt to give a name to the place. For, in the present state of our knowledge, it must at once be said that it is quite impossible to assign a date to the remains we have before us. They consist of the circuit of the outer defensive walls, and of the remains of constructions in the interior, both for the most part built in what is variously known as the Pelasgic, Cyclopean, or polygonal style. There are, however, a few traces of concrete, faced with opus incertum, *in situ*, and numerous fragments of baked bricks and tiles are scattered over the site. The walls present, it is true, an extremely ancient appearance, being faced with boulders of the rough pale-gray limestone found upon the site itself, which as a rule is so stratified as to have a natural tendency to break into rectangular blocks. No traces of their having been worked or smoothed in any way are to be detected. They are laid without mortar, and the interstices are filled with smaller stones. The inner mass of the walls (which are as a rule embanking-walls, the only exception being at the northwest corner of the outer city-wall, between Nos. 2 and 20 on the Plan, PLATE XII) is made up of smaller stones and earth.

The primitiveness of the construction, and the fact that mortar is not employed, may be held to argue a certain antiquity. Compared with the circuit-walls of other towns of the neighborhood, those of La Civita are extremely rough and badly built; though, considering how very exposed the site is, the influence of the weather upon the stone should be taken into account. But whether they are pre-Roman or not is quite another question. The old theory that all polygonal walls are prehistoric hardly needs refutation: a day spent among the olive-clad slopes below Tivoli will reveal a sufficient number of terrace-walls obviously belonging to Roman villas to prove its absurdity:¹ not even the so-called ignorance of the principle of the arch, as displayed, for example, in the Porta Saracinesca at Segni, can stand as a proof of high antiquity. Similar cases may be found in a drain passing through the substruction of the Via Appia at Itri; in another drain passing through an embankment of the Via Salaria, some thirty miles from Rome, which is known as Ponte del Diavolo (*Annali dell'Istituto*, 1834, p. 107); in a villa of the Roman period at Scauri, near Formia; and, finally, though on a far smaller scale, in a hypocaust-opening in a building discovered in 1902 in the Romano-British city of Caerwent (Venta Silurum), in Monmouthshire, England, the date of which cannot possibly be earlier than about 50 A.D.,² and is in all probability a good deal later.

And now excavations have brought proof that the fortifications of Norba, about ten miles to the south of La Civita, on the western edge of the Volscian range, are of Roman date! The report (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, pp. 514–559) is worthy of study. The necropolis was unfortunately not found, and this is to be deplored, as the approximate date of the foundation of the city and the period during which it existed could thus have been more certainly determined than in any other way. But within the

¹ Cf. also p. 90, below.

² *Archaeologia*, LVIII, 2 (1903), p. 397, fig. 2.

core and beneath the foundations of a part of the wall of the east side, in such positions that they could not have been introduced after the construction of the wall (*op. cit.* p. 548), fragments of pottery belonging undoubtedly to the Roman period were found; and so it would appear certain that the walls of Norba must be attributed at the earliest to the period of the foundation of the "nova colonia, quae arx in Pomptino esset" (Liv. II, 34) in 492 B.C. It is, further, remarkable that a careful examination of the walls of Norba has completely upset the traditional chronology of polygonal constructions.¹ The most recent writer on the subject, G. B. Giovenale ('I monumenti preromani del Lazio,' in *Dissertazioni dell' Accademia Pontificia*, serie II, tomo VII), while admitting that in certain cases they must be assigned to the Roman period,² divides them, in general, into three groups, corresponding to different styles and dates. In the first we have large blocks, hardly worked at all, with rough faces and rounded angles; in the second, smaller blocks, with the faces left more or less rough, but the joints smoothed; in the third, larger blocks again, but with the faces carefully smoothed, the joints worked, but not so finely as the faces, and a strong tendency towards horizontality. Small filling blocks and insets are not uncommon.

But, most unfortunately, at Norba we find the most perfect type (the third) used precisely in those places which were most exposed to attack, and would therefore have been the first to be fortified; and the angle to the left of the Porta Grande is the point of contact of walls of the second and third styles, in which it is clear that the third style supports the second. So that the usual chronology of these walls is not reliable; and hence, although perhaps the walls of La Civita are rougher than anything to be found at Norba, this roughness cannot in itself be regarded as sufficient evidence of high antiquity. Excavation alone can solve the problem definitely; and the site, being absolutely unoccupied by modern buildings, could easily be carefully examined, and would be well worthy of the attention of the Italian authorities.

It is worth noting, further, that the excavations at Norba brought to light traces of life on the site from the sixth century B.C. to the eighth or ninth of our era.³ It is possible, inasmuch as Pliny (*N.H.* III, 5; 69, 70) enumerates it among the cities of Latium "quae interiere sine vestigiis," that it suffered a temporary eclipse after its

¹ The remarks on this subject in W. Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* (vol. I, p. 68) require correction.

² The most striking of these is the platform of a large villa at Grotte Torri in the Sabine country, not far from the station of Fara Sabina, where the outer face of the wall of the platform is of very fine masonry, with the blocks carefully smoothed on all sides, while the inner face is of opus incertum. The whole wall is only 1.20 m. in thickness, and is pierced by loophole-windows, which serve to light a cryptoporicus that runs around the inside of the platform: so that there can be no question of the contemporaneity of the whole wall, nor of the necessity of assigning it to the Roman period.

³ Subsequent excavations in the interior of the city are described in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, pp. 229-262.

The site in its unexplored state so strikingly resembled what may be seen at Artena that the parallel is interesting and important.

A little below and to the south of the temple of Juno there is a large rectangular terrace, supported on three sides by fine walls of polygonal blocks (pp. 238, 239, figs. 8, 9). Its front, facing southwest, is 24 m. long. In the centre of the terrace lies an area measuring 15 × 13 m. (fig. 10), paved with smaller blocks. This is surrounded by a crepido and by a line of stones set on edge, which rise slightly above the area enclosed. The latter was discovered at a depth of some 40 cms. below the surface of the ground.

A paved road led to the terrace from the northeast.

destruction by Sulla; but there is material evidence of a revival of prosperity under the Empire. As this may likewise have been the case with La Civita, the statements of the classical writers are perhaps no bar to either of the identifications proposed (p. 88).

We may now proceed to describe La Civita itself and the remains which are to be found there. The site attains its greatest elevation at the north end (632 m. = 2073½ feet). The ground slopes away towards the south and west rather gently (the southern slope being by far the longer), but much more abruptly towards the north and east (except for the neck by which it is connected with the rocky knoll to the north-northwest). Its greatest extension from north to south is about 825 m., and from east to west about 525 m. (De la Blanchère gives 894 m. and over 650 m.)

The external walls are fairly well preserved along the whole of the west side and on the south and southeast. On the east side, a little to the south of the point where the path usually followed from Artena enters them (No. 4 on Plan), they disappear, and, the slope being very abrupt, they may not have extended farther to the north on this side. On the north side, however, they certainly existed, though traces of them are extremely scanty at the present time. De la Blanchère seems to have seen them in a far more perfect condition, for he remarks that they were preserved "sans solution de continuité" from C to D on his plan (No. 27 to No. 28 on our Plan) for a distance of 342 m. (p. 166).

The city probably had two important gates. The first was at the northwest extremity, where there is a break in the wall, and where the *col*, connecting it with the knoll on which is situated the trigonometrical point 621, comes up to the plateau. Here are traces (marked 1 on the Plan) of the substruction-wall of a road ascending southwestward, which must have followed, more or less, the line of a steep modern path. Serangeli (see below, p. 100) brings it up from La Cacciata, some two miles northwest of Artena, passing on the way some reservoirs and a place where, in his day (1717), antiquities of a date posterior to the abandonment of La Civita had been found. This gate (No. 2 on Plan) must have been situated between the fragment of wall 3 (which has now disappeared) and 1.

The second important gate was almost certainly situated on the east side, near point 4, where the easier modern path enters the plateau of La Civita, perhaps on the line of the prolongation of a substruction-wall 5 (see below, p. 92), i.e. almost exactly where the city-wall ceases to be preserved, though, owing to the height of the bank, it may be safer to locate it nearer to point 4. In any case, however, de la Blanchère puts it a good deal too far north, the slope towards the north at the point indicated by him being very abrupt. Serangeli makes a road enter from this side, and de la Blanchère (p. 170) speaks of having seen its substruction-walls on the east side of the mountain, believing it to be the same as a road of which traces are to be seen in the hills between Segni and Monte Fortino.

Besides these two gates there are two small posterns on the west side (marked 6 and 7 on the Plan and shown in Figs. 1 and 2), each 2.85 m. in width.¹ Owing

¹ The site of the postern at point 6 may be seen in Fig. 8.

to the precipitous character of the slope, neither of them can have had any great importance, or have served to admit anything more than a mountain path; that which entered at No. 6 may have ascended from the Grotta di Catauso, a natural fissure in the limestone rock, which it was impossible for us to explore owing to the water within. It is not unlikely that the water-supply of the ancient city may have been partly derived from this cave.

The curious inward bend of the wall just before the extreme south point is reached is not apparently connected with a gate, for the wall is well preserved, and there



FIGURE 1.—A POSTERN ON THE WEST SIDE OF LA CIVITA
No. 6 on the Plan. Width, 2.85 m.

are no traces of any opening. It is possible, on the other hand, that there was a gate where a path now leaves the site at the south end (No. 8 on Plan), at which point there is now a gap in the wall; and there may conceivably have been another in the great angle in the west side, where a modern path also passes out of the site, but over the wall, the extreme angle being now covered by an accumulation of earth (No. 9 on Plan). The fragment of the substruction-wall which possibly belongs to a road (No. 5) may have turned slightly so as to reach this angle, or may have turned more, so as to lead farther northward, perhaps to the gate at No. 6 on the Plan.

The city-wall itself is constructed of blocks of the local limestone. An average size is difficult to give, but the faces of the larger blocks may be stated to measure about 1 m. by 0.75 m. The thickness of the wall is given by de la Blanchère as averaging 2 m.; we measured 2.13 m. in the stretch of wall going southeast just

beyond the gate at No. 7, and 2.25 m. in the long stretch going south from point 10. The only portion now preserved above the inner ground-level is between points 1 and 7 on our Plan, and it measures 2.25 m. in thickness at that level, above which it rises to a height of 2.80 m. An illustration is given (Fig. 3), showing a section of the similar city-wall of Circeii which is of about the same thickness; but this necessarily decreases as the wall rises, to insure its stability. The maximum height preserved in the circuit of the wall of La Civita is 3.80 m., but this is at a point near 10 in the Plan, where it does not rise above the inner ground-level.



FIGURE 2.—A POSTERN WITH ADJOINING WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
No. 7 on the Plan. Width, 2.85 m.

It is obvious that walls of this style are unsuited to stand free, as in order to secure stability they must needs be much wider at the base than at the top. For embanking-walls, on the other hand, polygonal masonry is not open to objection, and is often used even nowadays by railway engineers.

Specimens are given of the city-wall. Fig. 4 shows the outer wall near a point A between the two gates Nos. 6 and 7; Fig. 5 the same, just south of point No. 9; Fig. 6 the same, at still another point on the west side; Fig. 7 shows the entire southwest portion of the site (taken from near gate No. 6); Fig. 8 is a view from the south end of the site, showing the wall from point 6 to point 9 on the Plan.

The remains within the circuit of the wall consist, in the first place, of a great massive terrace (No. 11 on Plan) facing south-southwest, the front of which is 167 m.



FIGURE 3.—A SECTION OF THE CITY-WALL OF CIRCEI



FIGURE 4.—A PIECE OF THE OUTER WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
Near point A, between the posterns at Nos. 6 and 7



FIGURE 5.—A PIECE OF THE OUTER WALL ON THE WEST SIDE
South of point 9

in length (Fig. 9). The east-southeast side of it can be traced for a distance of about 87 m., but the west-northwest side has almost entirely disappeared. The work is a trifle more careful than it is in the city-wall. The maximum height is about 6 m. near the west end of the front-wall (Figs. 10 and 11), the central portion of which is a good deal broken away. The part preserved there (Fig. 12), about 5 m. high and 2 m. thick, contains a block measuring on the face 2.40 by 2.40 m. to its extreme points,—the largest we have found upon the site. At a distance of 10.50 m. inward from the outer face of this wall another similar but smaller one (No. 12 on Plan), at present scarcely preserved above the ground-level, can be traced for a distance of



FIGURE 6.—THE OUTER WALL AT ANOTHER POINT ON THE WEST SIDE

53.70 m. going west-northwest and 12.50 m. going north-northeast. There was, we were told, a concrete flooring to the platform which is supported on the south by these substruction-walls, at a depth of about 0.75 m. This area, which extends for about 90 m. back from the front of the terrace to the rocks that rise decidedly behind it (No. 29 on Plan),—while its breadth is probably somewhat less than that of the great front-wall,—can never have been the arx; it is not in any way defensible and is overlooked by the highest point within the walls. De la Blanchère (p. 170) is probably quite correct in saying that it was the site of the forum of the city and also of the temple of the protecting deity. (Compare p. 90, note 3.)

At the highest point itself there is a rectangular dépression in the rock, 2 or 3 m. in depth (No. 13 on Plan), the sides of which are partly lined with masonry.



FIGURE 7.—THE SOUTHWEST END OF LA CIVITA VIEWED FROM POINT 6
The Monti Lepini in the distance



FIGURE 8.—THE OUTER WALL OF LA CIVITA BETWEEN POINTS 6 AND 9
Viewed from the south end of the site. The Alban Hills in the distance



FIGURE 9.—A GENERAL VIEW OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT INNER TERRACE
From the south.

It measures 22 by 13.40 m., and was very likely, as de la Blanchère suggests, a cistern (p. 169).

The long wall (No. 11) of the great terrace, near its west end (No. 14 on Plan), has a parallel wall of opus incertum built against it, 0.75 m. thick, and from the terrace-wall run several parallel walls (Nos. 15 on Plan) of opus incertum, more easily traced at the time when de la Blanchère visited the site than at present. From the southwest angle of the terrace ran another wall (No. 16 on Plan), ending in a concrete foundation which is still to be seen (No. 17 on Plan). To the west,



FIGURE 10.—THE WEST END OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT INNER TERRACE
Near point 16 on the Plan

northwest, and southwest of this point no further remains of buildings were traceable, though the blocks of the limestone, which by nature fractures rectangularly, often tempt one to believe that one has detected traces of foundations, which after more careful inspection have to be rejected.

There are, however, other remains within the city-wall, which de la Blanchère seems to have failed to observe. To the east of the great terrace is another low wall (No. 18 on Plan), marked as uncertain by de la Blanchère (O on his plan) and connected by him with a gate which he wrongly supposes to have existed on the line of the prolongation east-southeast of the great terrace-wall (N on his plan). It runs almost parallel to the eastern side-wall of the terrace, and *seems* to have a rectangular termination at its northeast end. A little farther down the

slope, and very nearly in the same straight line with it, is another wall which supports a road, 8.50 m. in width (No. 19 on Plan), paved with large blocks of limestone. This road can be traced southward as far as 20, where it stops; but close to this point there was probably an important junction of roads coming from the gates, which we have conjecturally marked at Nos. 4, 8, and 9 on our Plan (see pp. 91 and 92 above). The wall 18 apparently marks the prolongation northward of this road, and the turn at right angles at its northeast end probably means that close to this point it turned and entered the area of the great terrace.



FIGURE 11.—THE HIGHEST PART IN THE WESTERN REMANT OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF
THE GREAT INNER TERRACE
Plainly visible in Fig. 9 to the left

On each side of the lower portion of the road are foundations of polygonal blocks of smaller size; on the northwest side terrace-walls (Nos. 21–23 on Plan)—with possibly another terrace between 22 and 23), and on the southeast side the foundations of a small building (No. 24 on Plan). To the south of point 5 (see p. 91) we saw no definite remains of buildings. De la Blanchère speaks of roads as possibly traceable from the gates numbered 6 and 9 going towards the north end of the western sidewall of the great terrace and the highest point of all; of these we saw no traces. He saw also other traces of walls on the site, too indistinct to be put upon the plan.

It does not appear that there was much more to be seen two centuries ago. Serangeli, the author of a manuscript history of Monte Fortino (*Notizie istoriche della Terra di Monte Fortino*, 1717), now preserved at the *Municipio* of the modern village



FIGURE 12.—AN ISOLATED PIECE OF THE WALL SUPPORTING THE FRONT OF THE GREAT INNER TERRACE
Plainly visible in Fig. 9 near the middle

of Artena,¹ speaks of the site as "ripieno di varj vestigj di ruine e frantumi di terracotta." Already at his time it was entirely under cultivation, as it is at present, though the grain it produces is not very flourishing. He only saw some subterranean vaults (which de la Blanchère supposes to have been cisterns), and even these were partly destroyed. De la Blanchère, in commenting on this passage, remarks that fragments of bricks and terra-cotta are extremely rare upon the site (p. 168). Our experience does not bear out his statement: there is a great quantity of broken bricks, flange-tiles, and pottery of Roman date² (mostly, to be sure, in small pieces,



FIGURE 13.—OBJECTS OF TERRA-COTTA SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AT LA CIVITA

of very coarse material and inferior manufacture, some baked red, some baked gray), and terra-cottas are said to have been found in two places at the east edge of the northern part of the site (Nos. 25 and 26 on Plan). Some of the latter, now in the archaeological collection of the University of Michigan, are shown in Fig. 13.

Of the modern village, little remains to be said. Half-way down to it, at a place called *Serrone del Patto* (or *Fatto*), Serangeli (manuscript, fol. 20) speaks of the discovery of debris of constructions, pieces of marble, and of a lead pipe one-third of a palm (7.41 cm.) in diameter, bearing the inscription, **L VINIVS ONESIMVS FEC**, at intervals (*C.I.L.* X, 5977). There were seen traces of a villa (possibly the same building), consisting of a wall, 80 cm. thick, of small polygonal blocks, with debris of amphorae, tiles, etc., on the slope below the path which leads up on the east side of the site. In the church of S. Maria there is an altar (used now as a holy-water basin and placed upside down), bearing in low relief on the three sides which are visible the emblems of Jupiter (eagle and thunderbolt, Fig. 14), Juno (peacock), and Minerva (owl and helmet, the latter lettered **AΘH**, Fig. 15). The material is Greek marble, and the work is good. The base measures 50 cm. in length, the plain plinth 5 cm.,

¹ In the course of our various visits to Artena, the lack of time has never permitted of our examining this manuscript, a task which, indeed, seemed unnecessary, inasmuch as it has been searched both by de la Blanchère and by Stevenson—the latter in his work of collection of materials for the tenth volume of the *C.I.L.* (*ibid.* p. 591).

² A piece of black glazed pottery was also found; it is a part of the bottom of a small bowl. On its inner side are four impressions of a mark shaped like this figure, ☩ (in one-half of the actual size). Judging from their positions, six were grouped in the centre of the vessel so as to form a regular figure like this, ☻, the five outer ones having the open end turned inward.

the moulding 6.45 cm. in height, while the sculptured panel is 35.5 cm. high and 36.5 cm. wide. The plain little church itself has been modernized, but contains many fragments of eighth-century carving built into the altar steps.

In the town there is little to be seen: the principal church (S. Croce), near the top of the town (Fig. 16), has two panels of Cosmatesque work (twelfth century) built into



FIGURE 14.—THE FRONT OF A ROMAN ALTAR
Now in the church of S. Maria between Artena and La Civita

the façade, and two more within in the floor. In the sacristy is preserved the inscription *C.I.L. X*, 5987, seen by us, where Stevenson's **DLCIMIO** must be a misprint for **DECIMIO**, the whole running thus: **P. DECIMIO BOETHO | B(ene) · M(erenti) · CONIVGI · SVO.**

Beside the church on the west a very wide and deep fissure in the limestone has recently developed (Figs. 16 and 17), and a similar deep depression exists farther to the east, reducing the width of the town at this point to about 150 m.

Farther down the town we saw the inscription *C.I.L.* X, 5984, described as "arca" (really a slab, 0.95 m. in height), said by Serangeli to have been found in the quarto della Pescara, three miles to the southwest of the village, "in una collinetta vicino alla selva," and to be in his own possession (manuscript, fol. 21). Stevenson saw it in the



FIGURE 15.—THE RIGHT SIDE OF A ROMAN ALTAR (See Fig. 14)

scuole comunali: it now forms the threshold of a doorway, and its right-hand side is no longer visible. We give what we saw of the text in capitals, and the remainder in small italics:

D · M
P · COMIC*io*
PHILOPHYR*so*
COMICIA · ATHE*nais*
CONIVGI · *et*
P · COMICIVS · EV*Sebes*
PATRI · B · M · *Fecep* (*sic*)

There is also in the *Palazzo Borghese* (belonging to the Roman family of that name, who are the owners of Artena) a tufa sarcophagus found at the *Colle Treare*, near the twenty-fourth mile of the Via Latina, described in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, p. 325, and a bust of a bearded Roman. Stevenson saw there a mill (*catillus*) of stone, bearing the



FIGURE 16.—VIEW OF ARTENA FROM THE ROAD LEADING TO LA CIVITA
It shows the deep fissure west of the church, and the Alban Hills in the distance

inscription HOP (*C.I.L.* X, 5997); the letters were, however, indistinct and the reading should probably have been HOS (cf. *C.I.L.* X, 8057, 7).

Outside is the milestone, *C.I.L.* X, 6884, the inscription on which is now almost illegible. It ran thus:

D	N					
I	M	P	C	A	E	S
CL IVLIA no						
Pio felici						
augusto						
xXxiiii						

It must have belonged to the Via Latina from the place at which it was found. The number is quite uncertain ; but the problems connected with it cannot be discussed here.



FIGURE 17.—THE WEST SIDE OF ARTENA AND THE CHASM

View from the terrace beside the church (see Fig. 16)

Opposite the palace is a fragment of a female statue.

The only other sepulchral inscription which Stevenson saw here is *C.I.L.* X, 5979,
BASILIUS | VIXSIT ANN | HIC · OBITUS · A[nte patrem cubat pater] | INFELIX
 FECI · QUI · CAR[ui optimo filio ?].

C.I.L. X, 5986, was also recorded as having been found here by Serangeli (manuscript, fol. 16), while two other authors give two different localities where they saw it, in neither of which could Stevenson find it. It runs thus:

D · M ·
 T · CRVSTIDIVS
 PRISCVS · COIV
 GI SVAE QVINT
 INIAE · CALLIS
 TENI · BENEME
 RENTI · FECIT · Q
 VE · CONVIXIT · M
 ECV ANNIS · P · M
 XX · SINE · VLLA · Q
 VERELLA

There are no others belonging to Artena itself, as distinct from the Via Latina which passes close under it (see the small Map on PLATE XI and *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. I, map VIII).

The authors acknowledge with pleasure their indebtedness to Messrs. Albert R. Crittenden, Henry M. Gelston, and John W. Beach, formerly members of the American School, for some help in surveying and measuring the walls of La Civita.

The present description has been compiled by Mr. Ashby, Assistant-Director of the British School, with the aid of Mr. Pfeiffer's notes, while the latter is in the main responsible for the plan, the photographs having been contributed by both of us. The work, being therefore fairly divided between us, is, in a sense, one of the first-fruits of the cordial friendship between the American and the British schools at Rome.

THOMAS ASHBY, JR.,
 GEORGE J. PFEIFFER.

ROME, March, 1904.

CARSIOLI

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE AND THE ROMAN REMAINS, WITH HISTORICAL NOTES AND
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

[PLATES XIII-XVI]

Frigida Carsioli, nec olivis apta ferendis
Terra, sed ad segetes ingeniosus ager.
—OVID, *Fasti*, IV, 683, 684.

THE traveller who crosses the Italian peninsula in an easterly direction from Rome takes the Sulmona railway and enters the Sabine Mountains at Tivoli (Tibur). Thence he follows the route of the ancient Via Valeria up the beautiful Anio valley past Vicovaro (Varia or Vicus Variae) and reaches in about an hour the picturesque town of Arsoli.¹ This lies a little north of the springs that supply the modern Aqua Marcia, as they did the ancient. Portions of their conduits he will probably have seen along the way.

Leaving Arsoli, he enters a narrow rocky pass traversed by a tributary of the river Anio, coming from the north; and here, about opposite to the village of Riofreddo, he may see, on the east side of the railway-line, under the modern highway, a well-preserved single-arched Roman bridge, which belonged to the Via Valeria, the Ponte di San Giorgio (Fig. 1).²

Another ancient bridge still better preserved is the Ponte Scutonico³ (Fig. 2), which lies about 2 km. back toward Rome, far below the railway, southwest of Arsoli, from which it may be easily reached. It has particular interest as the most important remnant of Roman road-building in these parts, and is repeatedly referred to below (pp. 131, 132). Figure 3 shows the top of it, looking eastward, with the road-pavement of irregular flat blocks of limestone still *in situ*.

Soon after passing the Ponte di San Giorgio and the station of Riofreddo, the traveller arrives at the lonely station of Pereto-II Cavaliere (called on the Maps, PLATE XIII, simply II Cavaliere), where he should descend to visit Carsioli. Beyond stretches an extensive plain,—the Piano del Cavaliere,—not unlike the plains of

¹ See Maps, PLATE XIII.

² The scale-rod in this and some other illustrations is 2 m. long, and divided into decimetres.

³ See the large Map, PLATE XIII (southwest corner), and the small Map under it.

northern Greece, cultivated by the inhabitants of the neighboring villages, but almost without a house or tree (Fig. 4).

It is drained by the little river Turano, which flows rapidly northwestward, lies about 600 m. above sea-level, and is encircled by gray limestone mountains scantily wooded and in winter often capped with snow.¹ Between the plain and the highlands on the west, however, there extends from Il Cavaliere toward the north and northwest a plateau with deeply eroded contours. It is about 40 m. to 60 m. higher than



FIGURE 1.—PONTE DI SAN GIORGIO, VIEWED FROM THE EAST
Only the arch of travertine is Roman

the lowest part of the plain, somewhat wooded, and hence known as Bosco di Oricola, a hill-town toward the south, to which it now belongs.²

Along the eastern edge of this plateau lies a narrow and very irregular spur,³ stretching northward independently of it. This spur is the site of the ancient town of Carsioli,⁴ which was originally a settlement of the Aequi or Aequiculi, but is said to

¹ Aug. J. C. Hare (*Days near Rome*, 1875, II, p. 186) repeats the statement of P. A. Corsignani (*Reggia Marsicana*, 1738, vol. I, p. 223) that Cavaliere was built by a Cavaliere of the Colonna family, who was nearly lost on these desolate hills in the snow. — His few remarks on Carsioli are neither new nor wholly correct.

² At the left of the Panorama, PLATE XIV, 1.

³ Not well shown on the large Staff-map, PLATE XIII.

⁴ The name occurs in two forms, *Carseoli* and *Carsioli*. The latter, which we use, is that adopted by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. IX, p. 382; cf. no. 4067. — *Carsulae* was another town in Umbria.



FIGURE 2.—PONTE SCUTONICO, BUILT OF TRAVERTINE, VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHEAST



FIGURE 3.—PAVEMENT OF THE VIA VALERIA ON THE PONTE SCUTONICO, LOOKING EASTWARD
Arsoli lies toward the left, just outside of the view

have been occupied in about 300 B.C. by a colony of 4000 Romans. The place then became a strong fortress, guarding the line of advance into the central Apennines. It flourished more or less for many centuries, and fell into decay in the Middle Ages. The date of its final abandonment is not exactly known. The Panorama on PLATE XIV is a good view from the east of the entire site, outlined by its trees against the mountains to the south and west. Only a few humble stone cottages and reed huts (*capanne*) stand upon it now.

The rock underlying the soil is a brownish-gray volcanic tufa of rather fine but earthy grain, similar to that found in the Valle di Cona below Subiaco (Gori, *Da Roma a Tivoli e Subiaco*, etc., 1855, part IV, p. 34, or *Giornale areadico*, tomo CLXXXII (1864), p. 114). It resembles peperino somewhat, but is less speckled. In the surrounding alluvial lowlands lie stagnant waters, which give rise to malarial fevers in the summer months. To the west there were, when Gori wrote about fifty years ago, bogs and malodorous sulphur-springs, which, he says, made spending the night in this neighborhood impossible. Of the springs we noticed nothing, but even now the tillers of the soil stay only for the winter season at Carsioli, or Civita Carenza as they call it, returning in April to Oricola. They raise Indian corn and other grain, grapes and apples, but do not cultivate the olive. For this, as already Ovid has remarked (*loc. cit.*), the climate is too cold.

The remains of Carsioli were found and identified¹ by the famous Holstenius (Lucas Holste, 1596–1661) in May, 1645:

"Carseolorum situm & vestigia diu perquisita inveni & perspexi anno 1645. 12. Maij."²

¹ The identification is assured

(1) by the statement of Strabo (V, iii, 11) that Carsioli lay on the Via Valeria.

(2) by the *Antonine Itinerary*, which gives its distance from Rome as 42 miles, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which gives it as 48 miles (cf. *C.I.L.* IX, p. 204, and pp. 130–132 below).

(3) by the presence of the suitable remains of a large city at the forty-second and forty-third milestones from Rome on the Via Valeria.

(4) by an inscription found there in 1720 referring by name to Carsioli (*C.I.L.* IX, 4067; cf. also P. A. Corsignani, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 201, and F. Gori, *op. cit.* p. 36 (*G. arc.* p. 116)).

(5) by a milestone found east of the site which is inscribed like others of the Via Valeria, and must have been numbered **xxxxiii** (cf. pp. 128–132 and *C.I.L.* IX, 5964).

² *Annotationes in Italianam antiquam Cluverii*, Rome, 1666, pp. 164, 165.



FIGURE 4.—PIANO DEL CAVALIERE

Looking northward from the milestone, PLATE XV, 60

He describes them in the following words :

" In umbilico planitiae Carseolanae ad laevam viae Valeriae Roma euntibus, uno circiter millario ultra diversorum *del Cavagliere* in colle leniter edito visuntur ruinae, & vestigia huius nobilissimae Coloniae, quae vulgo *Cirita Carentia* nunc dicitur : à parte occidentali [really the south],¹ ubi *Porta Romana* fuit,² appetat maeniorum pars antiqui operis. A septentrionali latere [really the west] apparent murorum, turriam ac substructionum vestigia ex ima valle subrecta. Ad ortum [really the north] in colle paulo editiore veteris Ecclesiae ruinae apparent [possibly Nos. 40 or 51 on our Plan, PLATE XV, cf. pp. 123 and 126 below]. Ad meridiem [really the east] collis leniter in viam Valeriam descendens laterum ac caementorum reliquiis oppletus cernitur. A parte septentrionali [really the west] aqueductus insignis reliquiae apparent, quo rivus aquae limpissimae prope *Valle in Freddo* scaturiens è perduebatur. Distat a Cellis, quibus nunc Carsoli nomen datum m. p. 3. ab Arsula autem m. p. 4. vel potius v. quod intervallum exactè cum Itinerariis convenit. Fuit enim haec civitas ad Lapidem XLII. vel XLIII. haec oculata fide mihi comperta. Ex hic explicanda quae aliorum relatione accepta inferius adnotavi."

Holstenius also points out that Cluverius³ was wrong in believing that the Roman Carsioli occupied the site of the modern Arsoli.

Since his day the remains have been repeatedly mentioned, and occasionally visited by archaeologists.

Mutius Phoebonius, in his *Historiae Marsorum Libri Tres* (Naples, 1678), says :

" At non ita [i.e. Cluver's identification with Arsoli is wrong] nam illius vestigia ex antiqua apud Incolas traditione monstrantur. In plano inter Reofridum, et Celle in sylva, quae ab excurrente riuo, cui Sesere nomen est, Sesera appellatur, non aspernendae civitatis illustria monumenta iacent; et inter semidiruta aedificia ianua excavatis lapidibus compacta adhuc solum continet⁴ et ipse locus a vicinis Carseolorum Civitas nuncupatur; et Ecclesia quae ibidem est, Abbatiali titulo gaudet, et a qua circum erecti populi Sacra olia sumebant, etiam in diplomate Paschalis II S. Mariae in Carseolo enunciatur" (p. 201).

In a manuscript work by the Spaniard Diego Revillas, entitled *De Sabinis urbibus apud Marsos*, written about 1735, but not published, and now in the possession of Mr. Thomas Ashby, Jr., of Rome (who purchased it from the library of the late Constantino Corvisieri), the author makes the following remarks about Carsioli, which agree in the main with the statements of Holstenius :

" Veteris itaque Carseolorum urbis situm in valle prope modum quadrilatera (quam ex Thorano fluvio olim Telonio eam irrigante Thoranam dicunt) plurimo Montium circumdata vallo quinque et sex P.M. extensa, quam Via Valeria oblique dirimit, nullo negotio invenimus. Ob sylvarum saltuumque frequentiam et ob ibi emergentium aut defluentium aquarum copiam, frigiduscculo, humidoque aere vallis premitur. Sed in colle leniter edito extracta Civitas mitiore quidem, at non admodum calido fruebatur caelo, ut propterea *frigida* bene posset appellari. Tertio citra mox recensitum lapidem XXXXI milliario visuntur hactenus dirutae Civitatis vestigia; unde ejus ab urbe distantia ad M.P. non XXXXIII [sic] (ut perperam Phoebonibus [sic] Antonini Itinerario deceptus numerat) sed XXXVIII statuenda quem admodum Dissert. I. invenimus."

[This statement rests on the erroneous view⁵ that the Via Valeria went through the mountains

¹ All the compass-directions here quoted from Holstenius are 90° out in the sense of the motion of the clock-hands.

² Cf. Plan, PLATE XV, second fork.

³ Philippi Cluveri *Italia antiqua*, f°, Lugd. Bat. off. Elz. 1624, lib. II, pp. 783, 784.

⁴ Apparently the postern (47, Fig. 17) described on p. 125, below.

⁵ Accepted without question by E. H. Bunbury in his article 'Via Valeria,' Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 1883, p. 1306.

to the west of Arsoli and the Monte S. Elia from the Osteria della Ferrata by way of Riofreddo, rejoining the modern road just north of the Ponte di San Giorgio. See Map of Revillas, Fig. 5, the small Map on PLATE XIII, and our remarks, pp. 130–132. Compare also Mommsen, *C.I.L. IX* (1883), p. 382.]

“*Illustres adeo hic jacent non modicae Civitatis reliquiae, ut incredulum quemlibet de primeva Aedificiorum magnificentia convincere possint. Hic balineorum, et Templorum sepultae parietinae passim deteguntur: hic marmorea statuarum, columnarum, epistyliorium frusta; hic literati lapides, vetusta numismata, pluraque alia tum metallica, tum marmorea Urbeum [sic] monumenta quotidie in nova Vinetorum plantatione ab Auricolae et Pireti praesertim incolis effodiuntur. Atque ut omnis de Civitatis nomine removeatur dubitatio, Praegrandis marmorea stylobata non ita pridem effossae et ad Hospitium *del Cavaliere* (quod millario inde distat) nunc collocata testimonium dabit.*” [*C.I.L. IX*, 4067; the transcription of Revillas, however, has a dot after **REPEN**, a large **O** at the end of the third line, and has **CARSEOLA | NORVM** instead of **CARSIOLA | NORVM**.]

“*Praeter complures alio translatos aut temporum hominumque iniuria destructos Literatos lapides, nonnullos hic damus inter Carseolana rudera recens effossos: quos una cum aliis inferius recensendis ex communi ruina praetio redemptos, in Paternis aedibus Pireti diligenter collegit studiosus aeque ac nobilis iuvenis Antonius de Vinditis: quos dum ejus hospitio in nostra p[er] Marsos peregrinatione splendidissime frueremur transcripsimus.*” [Then follow four inscriptions: *C.I.L. IX*, 4063, in which Revillas writes **OLLIVS** and a dot at the end of the third line; 4053; 4059 (Rev. 7), in which Revillas writes the first line **IIIDIO·FLACCO** and the fourth **III VIR·IVR·DIC·QVIN**, slightly differing from the *Corpus*; and 4068 (Rev. 7).]

“*Interim ut Architecturae studiosis gratificemur novam basis columnae formam inter rudera a nobis observatam linea [tamq, del.] exhibemus in qua loco Tori, planum veluti inclinatum in plinthum desinit.¹ Duas hujuscem formae bases ex lapide pario invenimus quarum diameter [is omitted] . . . columnarum vero frusta quae basibus his correspondere videbantur, striata ex eodem lapide pario constructa erant.*”

“*Inter semidiruta Aedificia, superstes ad hoc Romam versus, Civitatis porta excavatis lapidibus extorta conspicitur,² ad quam longus Viae Valeriae tractus [only a *diverticulum*? Cf. p. 115.] desinit.*”

“*Nequid autem urbis commoditati ad magnificentiae deesses; licet haud procul hinc excurrente fluviolem quem Sesare vocant, et proximum saltum circumdedit, irrigantur; Aquaeductu tamen satis amplio ac conspicuo donabatur, qui ex vicini montis radicibus ferme subter Oppidum quod *Vallinfreda* dicunt copiosas aquas colligebat. Extant adhuc ingentia aquaeductus vestigia quae ab incolis *Muro pertuso* appellantur, quaeve in Tiburtina Tabula suo loco adnotata sunt.*” [See Fig. 5 and PLATES XIII (large Map, northwest corner) and XIV, 2, 3, 4.]

R. Colt Hoare³ narrates a visit on May 8, 1791, to the site of Carsioli, as follows:

“I diverged from the main road [he is travelling to Rome] toward the right, in order to examine the ruins of the ancient Carsoli: the site of which is now overspread with vineyards. I noticed, however, a part of the walls, built of huge blocks of stone; and a portion of the Roman way, the pavement of which still retains the traces of carriage wheels. I saw also some fragments of aqueducts, and the relics of a coarse tessellated pavement. I regretted the injury done to a fine pedestal⁴ in one of the vineyards. It was ornamented with a basso reliefo, representing a sacrifice, consisting of three figures, and a victim before the altar. On the reverse was an olive-branch; on the two other sides were a patera and a vase, or beaker, with a swine sculptured beneath.⁵ It had borne an inscription, the letters of which were finely engraved, but now reduced to **SACR**: so that no indication remains to what deity [sic] this altar was originally dedicated. . . .

¹ The manuscript of Revillas contains a sheet with four rough sketches, which are reproduced in PLATE XVI.—No. 3 on it appears to be a cross-section of the new form of base here mentioned.

² Cf. p. 118, below.

³ *Recollections Abroad*, 1817, vol. IV, p. 157 = *A Classical Tour through Italy*, 1819, p. 282.

⁴ Recorded in *C.I.L. IX*, 4052.

⁵ On one side a sheep instead of a swine (*C.I.L.*).

“ . . . A little beyond the Osteria del Cavaliere and nearly opposite the church of St. Giorgio [near the Ponte di San Giorgio, but now abandoned] a road diverges on the right [clearly a mistake for “left”] to Arsuli and Subiaco. Here, also, was the *diverticulum* of the *Via Valeria* made by the Emperor Nero; and on this road, or near it, were the sources of the *Aquae Claudioe* and *Marciae*, which were conveyed by means of aqueducts to the imperial city. Soon afterwards I reached Rio Freddo [*sic*], a village situated on an eminence, where the contracted mountains form a narrow pass, and the road winds along the declivity of a deep valley below. At this point which is the boundary of the Neapolitan and Papal territories, a custom-house is erected: but I neither experienced the trouble nor cupidity, which are usual in such establishments.

“ At a short distance from Rio Freddo occurs a steep and rapid descent, called *la Spiaggia*. Both here, and before, I noticed evident traces of the *Via Valeria*, particularly at one point, where the rock has been cut away to admit its passage.” [This road could hardly have been the *Via Valeria* for reasons set forth below, pp. 130-132.]

Not one of these men, however, has left a full account of what he saw. This is unfortunate, for meanwhile the walls of Carsioli and its edifices, both sacred and profane, have been so completely destroyed by cultivation and the search for building-materials that scarcely anything of importance remained, at least on the surface, when we visited the site for the first time in January, 1901, with Professor Rodolfo Lanciani. No objects of very great interest are known to have been found there, mainly perhaps because there have been no systematic excavations; but fragments of statues, cornices, and ornaments in marble and bronze, as well as lead pipes, coins, cut gems, plain pottery, and terra-cotta ex-votos, have been in the past¹ and are still sometimes unearthed by the country-people in their work. We determined, therefore, to map and describe what we could—little though it was—in order to preserve a more complete record of the place.

The history of Carsioli and its political status have already been briefly outlined by the late Professor Mommsen in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. IX (1883), p. 382. Reference may also be made to E. H. Bunbury’s article in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (Ed. W. Smith, London, 1887, vol. I, pp. 526, 527), though this writer says erroneously that a “great part of the walls . . . as well as portions of towers” . . . yet remain, having apparently relied without personal observation on Holstenius and on Gori, who wrote in 1666 and 1855. There is a short note by Professor Chr. Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie d. Klass. Alterthums-wissenschaft*, vol. III (1899), cols. 1615, 1616.

In our examination of the literary sources we have come upon no important new facts about Carsioli; but since we have thus become acquainted with a few not mentioned in the accounts referred to, and since we may be justly expected in a treatise

¹ (a) P. A. Corsignani, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 207, states:

“ Nell’ augusto territorio di questo luogo (Oricola), accade quasi di continuo nello scavare del terreno il ritrovarsi antiche Medaglie, e vari Idoletti di metallo, o rappresentanti false Deità, o Penati: il che siccome ha tirati molti studiosi di antichità a colà portarvisi, così fece col celebre Luca Olstennio.”

(b) C. Promis, *Le Antichità di Alba Fucense*, etc. (Rome, 1836, p. 57), mentions a lead pipe, 0.60 m. wide.

(c) Gori (*op. cit.* p. 36, *G. arc.* p. 116) records that he saw two fine marble torsi in the vineyards.

(d) *Notizie degli Scavi* (1889), p. 251, records a statuette possibly taken from the ancient site:

“ Nello scorso anno, facendosi i lavori per la costruzione del cimitero di Carsoli, fu rinvenuto un torso di statua marmorea femminile, di buona esecuzione alto circa m. 1,00. Dalla spalla sinistra pende un manto, che si raccoglie sul sinistro braccio. Fu depositato nella raccolta pubblica di Avezzano a cura dell’ ispettore E. Canale-Parola.”

like the present to include historical notes on our subject, we have added such in Appendix I, based upon some of the works, more or less trustworthy, enumerated in the bibliography, Appendix II.

It is certain that Carsioli lay on the Via Valeria, but that it lay to the left of it, as Holstenius states, was disputed by C. de Chaupy, who says¹ on this point:

"Ce texte d'Holsténus n'a d'inexact que de dire que Carséoles étoit à la gauche de la voie Valérienne qui la traversoit. Il devoit dire à la gauche du chemin présent" (note, foot of p. 222).

He remarks further:

"Ses vestiges consistent en la trace de son mur d'enceinte, qu'on reconnoit avoir été de Pierre de cette Fabrique appellée *incertaine* [opus incertum] déjà nommée plusieurs fois & dont je donnerai une idée plus bas, en plusieurs morceaux de pavé antique, dont un ne peut être que de la voie Valérienne qui la traversa & en une infinité de masures" (pp. 222, 223).

Chaupy appears to have mistaken house-walls in opus incertum for city-walls, and the paved road (now Via Civita), probably a *diverticulum* which led into the town, for the Via Valeria which seems to have passed at a short distance southeast of it.

Westphal, however, who had seen the ruins,² Hoare, and Revillas (at least in his map) placed the town where Holstenius did. Our own observation agrees with theirs.

Revillas indicates on his map³ some pavement of the Via Valeria, but we found nothing of the latter there except what appears to be a part of its bed cut in the earth and indicated thus — · — · — on the Staff-map (PLATE XIII) as a path. This runs for several hundred feet along the northwest side of the railway to the north of the first guard-house, Casello 70, beyond the station. The Roman paving-stones, worn on one side, which may be seen here and there in the low walls flanking the railway-embankment, probably came from this cutting. Moreover, its general direction points toward the fallen milestone⁴ of the Via Valeria, that lies at some distance to the northeast (cf. Plan, PLATE XV), but considerably east of the spur which was the site of the ancient town. On comparing finally the Via Valeria, as shown on Revillas' map near Carsioli (Fig. 5), and the earth-road beside the railway on the Staff-map (PLATE XIII) between Il Cavaliere and the river Turano, they will be seen to agree surprisingly in their place and direction, and even in the bend. We could find no evidence of any direct connection between the Via Civita and the milestone.

The site is best approached from the station of Pereto-II Cavaliere by crossing the railway-line, walking along it northward for a few hundred feet, and near Casello 70 turning off to the left to reach the path, now called Via Civita, that runs due north among houses over the R[egione] Vigne di Civita (see Staff-map, PLATE XIII).

¹ *Découverte de la maison de campagne d'Horace.* 3 vols. Rome, 1769. III part., pp. 222-224.

² J. H. Westphal, *Die römische Kampagne* (Berlin, 1829), p. 116:

"Etwas mehr als eine Miglie von der Osteria del Cavaliere, zur Linken an der *Via Valeria*, erscheinen die Ruinen des alten Carsioli, auf einem mässigen, in der Ebene, *Piano del Cavaliere*, gelegenen Hügel. Hier sind, vorzüglich auf der Seite gegen Rom hin, grosse kyklopische Mauern aus Kalkstein sichtbar, auch findet sich ein Stück der alten Strasse." He saw, apparently, the ancient pavement on the Via Civita, and thought it was the Via Valeria.

³ See the portion of it reproduced in Fig. 5 (below the words *Carseolorum Rudera*).

⁴ Cf. p. 111, note 1 (5) and p. 128, No. 60.

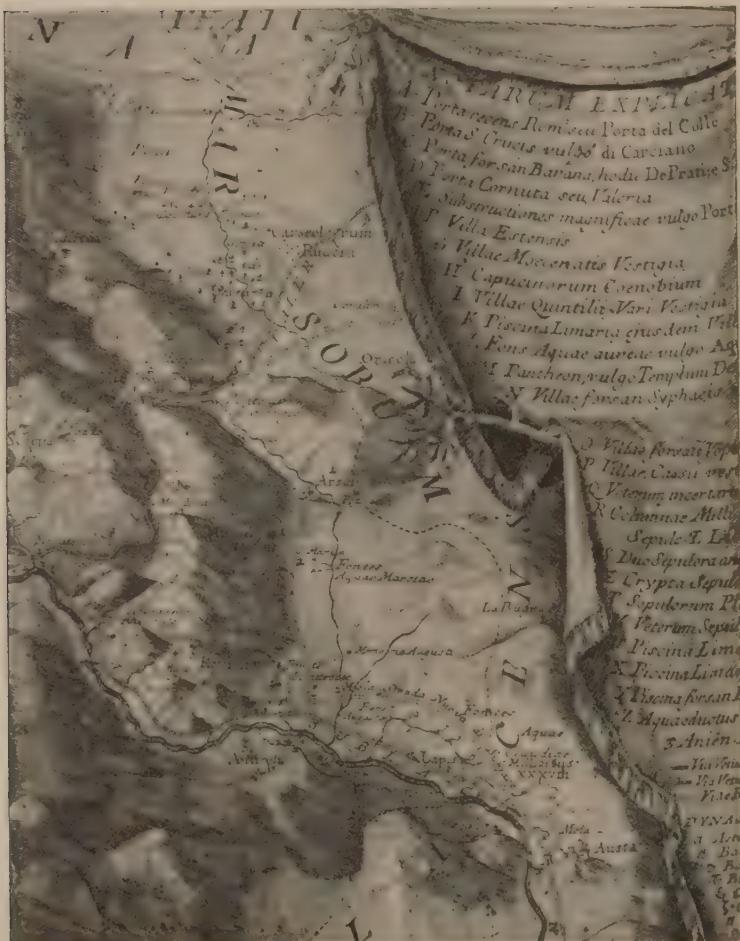


FIGURE 5.—A SECTION OF THE MAP OF DIEGO REVILLAS, 1735

See pp. 113 and 115

Finding the representation of the locality on the Staff-map inadequate for our work, we have prepared a Sketch-plan of our own, PLATE XV. On this the main points of the topography, to wit: buildings,—forks, bends, and ends of roads and paths,—and ancient remains have been located by a plane-table survey and tape measurements; not always, as we are aware, with mathematical exactitude, yet with sufficient accuracy for our purpose. The scantiness, nature, and present condition of the visible remains did not justify greater expenditure of labor and time. The contour-curves are inserted by sight and a few rough measurements, merely to give the reader some idea of the extraordinary shape of the ancient site, the interval between them being about 5 m. to 8 m. The numbers denoting objects and places on the site throughout the following remarks refer to that plan. The measures are given in the metric system, and the scale-rod to be seen in some illustrations is divided into decimetres.

The Via Civita, by which we shall now take the reader to Carsioli from the south, is a stony field-road about 2 m. wide, and, though it undoubtedly represents an ancient road, it seems to have been only a *diverticulum* branching off northward from the Via Valeria, which here had a northeasterly direction. Fragments of the pavement, which consisted originally of irregular limestone blocks flanked by a crepido or raised border of rectangular blocks of the same material on each side, may still be seen between the first road-fork and the second at the points numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and beyond the second fork at 17 and 18 on the west branch (third fork) and at 38 on the east branch. A view of this rough path looking north from 5 is shown in Fig. 6. It is unlikely, as stated above (p. 115), that this road, or either of its branches, represents the Via Valeria.

The best-preserved pieces of the pavement are at points 3, 4, and 17.

3 lies partly under the house-wall.

4 seems to be a piece of the eastern crepido lying along the middle of the path, composed of fifteen contiguous, rectangular blocks and four scattered ones. Some of the blocks are 1.4 m. long. The visible face of one measures 65 × 75 cm., of another at one end of the line 74 × 82 cm. A cross-section of the pavement at this point may be seen under the western hedge. Its original width could not be ascertained.

17 lies in the open space before the house at the third fork (see Fig. 7). The photograph shows some of the pale-gray limestone pavement and a piece of the eastern



FIGURE 6.—VIA CIVITA, LOOKING NORTHWARD FROM 5

crepido. The surface of one stone measured 60×110 cm. In a bit of pavement lying at 18 beyond the left corner of the house, one stone measured 60×140 cm. At the left of the view below the man is the edge of the modern path that turns off here to the west; the edge of the other path that branches off eastward is seen on the right.



FIGURE 7.—ANCIENT ROAD-PAVEMENT AT THE THIRD FORK, 17

of the way down the hill, at points 7, 8, 9, are low pieces of what was apparently a city-wall of much-weathered polygonal and rectangular tufa blocks, one of which measures $53 \times 60 \times 45$ cm. In Fig. 8 the polygonal blocks at 7 may be seen at the bottom of the stretch of wall in the centre of the view, the second fork being above at the left by the house.¹ At 9 (where the blocks are rectangular and at a higher level) this wall reaches its southern limit and turns eastward; but only 1.5 m. of the latter stretch is visible as a single course above ground. At 6, on the other (east) side of the neck, are two or three huge, well-joined rectangular blocks of it, apparently *in situ*, supporting the southeast edge of the fork. Their face-dimensions are about 130×62 cm. The tops of several more are visible at 15 in the second fork itself, in front of the south wall of the house. This place must obviously have been the site of a gate, and the remains of one here are, indeed, mentioned by Holstenius and Revillas (*loc. cit.*).

Besides these remnants of a tufa wall there are near by, at 10 and 11, also fragments of an apparently later, at least better-built, limestone wall which, at these points, stood about 5 m. west of the present road at the very edge of the plateau. Its rectangular blocks, which are very well laid on their long sides, measure on the exposed faces generally about 38×90 cm. or 38×95 cm., sometimes 38×100 cm. It is to be regretted that the good high piece, 10, still seen by us on our first visit, has since totally dis-

¹ As all the stones of this wall are flat-faced and pretty well joined,—apparently without mortar,—even the polygonal parts of it present nowhere as rude an appearance as the walls of Artena, though this is partly due, no doubt, to the difference in material: they resemble rather, for instance, the polygonal limestone walls on the south slope and top of the hill at Praeneste (now Palestrina). The parts built of rectangular stones (cf. especially No. 52, p. 119, and Fig. 9) probably looked, when standing, very much like the walls of the Roman Varia, which may be seen on the south side of Vicovaro, while passing in the train.

Although the fields to the east and west of points 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are already thinly strewn with insignificant fragments of ancient bricks, tiles, and pottery, the fortified part of the town does not seem to have extended south of point 15 at the second fork, where the contours indicate a narrow neck, just as they indicate another farther north at point 38.

At 15 the land drops rather abruptly on the west side. Here, about a third

appeared, having been broken up — so an old peasant told us — to repair the road. Only a mass of concrete, 13, which stood between it and the road, remains¹ at present.

Of both the tufa wall and the limestone wall we found fragments at other points. A walk up the west side from 15 to the northern extremity and down again on the east side revealed low pieces, more or less considerable, of the tufa wall at 20, 21, 26, 27, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 (top of a fine arch), and at 52; but scattered loose blocks of tufa, probably likewise from it, occur at intermediate points, especially on the slopes at 28, 29, 37^a, west of 39, at 47, 50, between 52 and 54, and, finally, built into the road-supporting wall at 59. At the last-mentioned place one stone measures on its exposed face 33×150 cm. Other stones are from 65 to 100 cm. long.

The best piece, recently brought to view by quarrying, lies at 52 (Fig. 9). Here may be observed outermost (at the right in the view) a line of headers; lying behind them a line of stretchers, and above these, farther back in the hillside, again headers and stretchers. A well-preserved typical block measured $41 \times 54 \times 95$ cm.

The fact should be noted that the tufa wall seen at this point is of opus quadratum (resembling that of similar structures on the Palatine Hill in Rome and elsewhere), while at point 7 it is built in the polygonal style, a style rarely seen in early tufa walls. Excavation would probably decide whether this difference in construction is due to a difference in age, or whether the polygonal work merely served for an embanking-wall and foundation to the other masonry. It is like that described and figured in *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1831, p. 411, pl. F, 4.

The remnants of the tufa wall are only lower courses of it, and are situated more or less below the present edge of the plateau on the slopes. When the wall was complete and its top much higher, the earth within probably abutted against it at plateau-level, the recession of the edge of the plateau being due to erosion since its removal.

Of the limestone wall, too, there are other fragments besides those mentioned above, p. 118. Built, as stated, of blocks well squared and laid, its remains lie always within those of the tufa wall, and, where they are sufficiently high, have kept the edge of the plateau unchanged from erosion, as at 22 (Fig. 10), 30, and possibly at 48. Loose blocks, similar to those composing it, lie at 49 and one east of 38 in the field.

¹ Cyclopic walls of limestone — no others — are mentioned by Westphal (*loc. cit.* p. 115, note 2, above); but this seems to be merely a case of inaccurate observation. He meant apparently the polygonal tufa wall and took its material to be limestone.



FIGURE 8.—THE WEST SLOPE OF THE SITE AT THE SECOND FORK, 15

These remains of the walls are certainly not a "great part" of them.¹ As to their age, a discussion of it would—in the absence of excavations—have little value. Of towers we saw nothing at all, but possibly the parallel tufa walls at 31 (cf. p. 122) belonged to one. On the other hand, they may have belonged to a gate.

Besides the paved road and the two walls described we saw at Carsioli also a few fragments of walls and floors of buildings and cisterns, and a very few scattered



FIGURE 9.—A QUARRY IN THE CIRCUIT-WALL OF TUFÀ AT 52

miscellaneous fragments and smaller objects, such as column-drums, altars, pedestals, cornices, terra-cottas, pottery, and tiles, but only poor, defective specimens of all. Many of these being available for burning lime will no doubt soon disappear in the large kiln at 32, which we have seen smoking, and the smaller one, near 40. A list of these objects follows, beginning at the second fork.

Most of them have little interest in the present state of the site, but we record them all for the benefit of future excavators. Their numbers refer likewise to the Plan on PLATE XV.

12. A fragment of an opus incertum wall under the west side of the house in the second fork; Fig. 11, a view from the south.

¹ See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, p. 526 and p. 114, above.

13. A fragment of a concrete wall or of a foundation to the west of 12, close to the outer edge of the road. In Fig. 8 it lies under the bushes to the right of the house and trees near the left margin.

14. One end of a concrete cistern lined with opus signinum and the commencement of two side-walls with a quarter-round cement filling in the angles. The inner width is 2.4 m., and the adjoining side-walls are respectively 1.1 m. and 1.25 m. thick. In Fig. 8 this is the mass of stone seen farthest to the right.

16. A part of a building in opus incertum of the local pale-gray limestone with buttress-like fragments of cross-walls. Some ancient colored wall-plaster still adheres



FIGURE 10.—THE WALL OF RECTANGULAR LIMESTONE BLOCKS AT 22

near the angles. In Fig. 12 (from the west) it is the upper wall to the left of and including the two buttresses in the centre. The other walls in this view are modern, but contain some ancient blocks.

18. At the left-hand corner of the house, Fig. 7, the drum of a travertine column about 30 cm. in diameter with shallow flutings. Near by we saw a broken limestone mortar shaped like a truncated cone and open at the wider end (dimensions: 30 cm. high, 5 cm. thick at the rim, 12.5 cm. deep, 26 cm. largest external diameter). To the east of the house by the path lay a fluted marble drum, 39 cm. in diameter, and a fragment of a plain round column, 40 cm. in diameter.

19. A fragment of an altar (?) of gray limestone in front of the house, without ornament or inscription. Diagrams with dimensions in centimetres in Fig. 13.



FIGURE 11.—A FRAGMENT OF AN OPUS INCERTUM WALL AT 12

ex-votos (hands, feet, faces, and the like) of the usual Roman type and numerous small fragments of ancient black and red pottery occur in the field below.

25. Just above 24, short pieces of two parallel opus incertum walls, 3.2 m. apart and each about 30 cm. thick, perhaps belonging to the same building as 24.

31. (Cf. also p. 120.)
Probably the site of a gate, perhaps also of a tower. There is a reentrant angle in the edge of the plateau, through which a path at present descends into the valley. This path is crossed here by two parallel tufa walls visible under foot in the ground, 2.43 m. apart and each 1 m. thick. Beside the path on the east side are two fluted drums of marble.

32. A large kiln, like a deep round pit, into whose earth sides ancient tufa walls run radially, one from the east, another from the north, a third from the south. The latter two pieces appear to be parts of the same wall, 40 cm. thick, that lies at a right angle to the other wall, 82 cm. thick, running east and west.

23. Two four-sided capitals of limestone alike in shape and size, Fig. 14. The square top of each has a round hole. Diagrams with dimensions in centimetres in Fig. 15.

24. A low curved wall of concrete about 60 cm. high, 40 cm. thick, and 2 m. long, of a building called by the natives San Pietro;¹ it may be a remnant of a mediaeval Christian church. It is probable that an earlier Roman sanctuary stood here or near by, as fragments of terra-cotta



FIGURE 12.—THE WEST SLOPE OF THE SITE AT 16

¹ Apparently not the church mentioned by Holstenius; see p. 112, above.

33. The place where stood, until recently, under the edge of the plateau, a fine and very typical piece of an opus incertum wall of pale-gray native limestone, shown in

Fig. 16. It has been destroyed for the making of lime. Close to its south end a narrow rectangular drain, 25 cm. wide and covered by tufa slabs, issued from the declivity.

34. A small piece of a concrete wall, standing just north of 33, against the edge of the plateau.

35. A thick mass of concrete, producing a sharp corner in the plateau-edge just above the modern fountain in the valley. This fountain, fed by a spring, seems to be at present the only source of clear cold water on the site of Carsioli. If the spring was used in ancient times, it was probably reached by a path from point 31 or 38, or both.

36. A heap of ancient rubbish (bricks, mortared stones, pieces of colored marble) within the area of the city.

37. A rectangular concrete floor, about 3.5×5 m., with a low limestone border along its northern margin.

39. A mass of concrete in the path northwest of the fourth fork, close to the east end of the house; and another, larger one, protruding a little out of the path a few metres off to the east.

40. The highest point of Carsioli;¹ a mound of Roman rubbish, bearing a large tree, and probably concealing the remains of a considerable building. Three metres to the southwest of the tree are the four walls, in opus incertum, of a rectangular chamber, 4×6 m. They rise to about 1 m. above the ground within.

41. The circle marked here indicates a modern paved threshing-floor, quite like those used also in Greece at this day. Southwest of it, near a small lime-kiln, lies a single straight course of well-laid rectangular tufa blocks, suggesting the edge of a platform. The stretch, which may be traced for 18 m., is in two pieces, the larger being 5.5 m. long. One block in it measured $45 \times 87 \times 30$ cm. The wall does not resemble the pieces of tufa circuit-wall in other places, and, being only a single course thick, might have belonged to a tower. On the hill west of 41, partly indicated on PLATE XV, are no traces of ancient occu-

¹ On or near this elevation must have been situated the church mentioned by Holstenius and Phoebonius (*loc. cit.*), but of the exact spot we could not be sure.

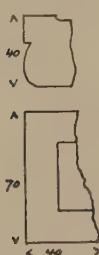


FIGURE 13.—VERTICAL SECTION AND TOP VIEW OF AN ALTAR(?) AT 19



FIGURE 14.—A FOUR-SIDED CAPITAL AT 23

pation or fortification-walls, so that it apparently lay outside of the city. From the latter it is separated by a distinct wide depression in the ground, which, however, shows no evidence of artificial deepening. It would have been quite natural to exclude this hill, since with it much more land would have had to be taken in and the town thus made less defensible.

By walking from here in a northwesterly direction across the Bosco di Oricola toward Vallinfredda, a little town south of Vivaro Romano, one reaches at a distance of about 2 km. the probable remains of the aqueduct that supplied Carsioli with water from the foothills on the west side of the valley traversed by the Fosso Sesara.¹ These remains are indicated both on the Staff-map, PLATE XIII, and on the Map of Revillas, Fig. 5.

The structure is called *Muro Pertuso* (cf. p. 113, above) and consists of fragments of a broad, more or less ruinous wall of rough but still solid opus incertum with good white mortar, 1.85 m. wide over all, 5 m. to 6 m. high in the best-preserved parts, and

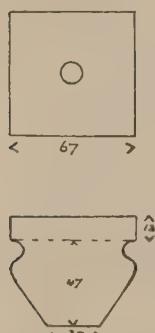


FIGURE 15.—TOP-VIEW
AND VERTICAL SEC-
TION OF THE CAPITALS
AT 23

pp. 32, 33, pl. x, describes and figures one, which served as a feeder to the great Roman aqueduct that supplied the city of Nemausus (now Nîmes in southern France), the same aqueduct to which belongs the celebrated Pont du Gard near Remoulins (Dept. Gard). The tributary aqueduct, which looks like a high broad wall, was built, to judge by the drawing, of small irregular stones (opus incertum). It carried an open channel, was without arches, and collected rain-water.

Figure 3 on PLATE XIV is a bird's-eye view of the aqueduct of Carsioli from the west edge of the plateau. At the bottom of this view it disappears into the hillside, and, as there are no traces of its further course to the north or south in the valley, it evidently went underground eastward to the town. Figure 2 on PLATE XIV is a general view of the best-preserved portion of it from the south; Figure 4 on PLATE XIV, a nearer view of an interval between two buttresses.

¹ This marked the former frontier between the States of the Church and the Kingdom of Naples, and is still the boundary here between the provinces of Aquila and Rome.

strengthened at intervals of 4.55 m. by buttresses on each side, 89 cm. thick and projecting 45 cm. Near the *fosso*, or brook, they are larger, but could not be measured. The total length across the valley above ground is 198 m., with a large gap of 30 m. at the stream. There are no traces of arches, the wall having apparently been solid throughout, no traces of a specus, and no certain traces of the characteristic stratified deposit of carbonate of lime from the interior of a specus. The absence of such deposit would, however, be easily accounted for if rain-water was collected. Nevertheless, the structure can hardly have been anything else but an aqueduct, and is apparently of Roman date, judging from the excellence of the mortar and from the fact that its dimensions correspond fairly well with the Roman foot-unit (296 mm.). Besides, Roman aqueducts without arches are not unknown: small ones were sometimes built in that way. Mr. Charles Roach Smith, in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. VII, 1878–80,

Resuming now our excursion over the site of Carsioli, there are next to be noted, in the hollow below points 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 (fragments of the tufa wall), numerous but worthless bits of ancient black and red pottery.

We then reach the northernmost end of Carsioli, and walk around it to the east side. Henceforth many of the objects yet to be mentioned can also be located on the Panorama, PLATE XIV, 1.

It has already been pointed out that there was a south gate at the second fork, probably a west gate at 31, and perhaps another at 38.



FIGURE 16.—A WALL OF OPUS INCERTUM AT 33
Now destroyed

47. Here was apparently the site of a postern,¹ for we have, just under the edge of the plateau, an interesting well-preserved arch, of which the top is visible beside the path that skirts this long narrow terminal spur. Seven blocks, including the central keystone, are exposed, the rest no doubt buried in the soil. The outer width of the large block at the left of the view (Fig. 17) is 54 cm. The clear span of the arch, assuming it to be nearly semicircular, is about 2 m., but it could not be exactly determined without excavation.

In the path near by are embedded several large tufa blocks, and in the wall supporting it are more of the same kind; a huge one, about 2.5 m. to the north, being apparently *in situ*.

¹ The same that is mentioned by Phoebonius (*loc. cit.*), p. 112, above.

48. Eight rectangular contiguous, but broken, limestone blocks in a straight line, which represent, if not a piece of a limestone circuit-wall (see p. 118 above), perhaps the edge of a terrace or pavement. One is 1.10 m. long and 35 cm. thick.

49. Other limestone blocks, like those at 48, in the wall supporting the path; the face of one measures 120 × 30 cm.

50. A single tufa block 60 × 60 × 30 cm.

51. Terminal wall of a vaulted chamber or cistern in opus incertum (Fig. 18) at the east end of a great heap of Roman rubbish, which forms a mound like that at 40, and probably conceals a building. This might be a part of the church mentioned by Holstenius and by Phoebonius, *loc. cit.*, p. 112 above.¹

53. A block of concrete advancing boldly from the edge of the plateau below some huts. This lies just south of the quarried piece of the tufa wall at 52.



FIGURE 17.—THE ARCH OF A POSTERN OF TUFÀ AT 47

PLATE XIV, 1), near which, at 55, are two or three rectangular blocks of tufa, 45 cm. wide, forming the angle of a wall, possibly a part of a tomb.

56. A piece of coarse white Roman floor-mosaic with a simple black border, projecting from the slope above the path that leads hence to the fourth fork.

57. South of 54, in a field, an uninscribed and undecorated pedestal of white marble, 145 cm. in height and 35 × 58 cm. in cross-section.

Between 57 and 37a stands an insignificant little fragment of an opus incertum wall.

Following the westward path back to the fourth fork, we go southward by the Via Civita past 38 (pavement; also close by to the east a piece, *ca.* 1 m. long, of a large plain limestone cornice) and 37 (concrete floor), and then skirt the east edge of the plateau, until we reach, a little this side of the second fork, a foot-path that runs eastward at a right angle across an intervening hollow to point 58.

¹ A rough sketch in the manuscript of Revillas (reproduced in PLATE XVI, 3) may be intended to represent this structure; but our photograph (Fig. 21) shows that it was of opus incertum, while Revillas indicates a building with walls of rectangular blocks.

54. Two short pieces of walls in opus incertum respectively east and west of the house. Here was seen the only fragment of ornamental marble-work on the site, a good white cornice, 30 cm. long and about 7 or 8 cm. wide, with an egg and dart design. We noted also close by a few fractured Roman flange-tiles now serving as covers for beehives. From the house a path descends into the plain, passing at some distance a large tree (see north end of Panorama,

58. This is a solitary stone house (Fig. 19, from the west, Fig. 20, from the east). The owner of it showed us a broken Roman brick, bearing the inscription L·E·GNE.... in a rectangle, 27 mm. high. The letters are about 16 mm. high, the color is brown. We have not found the stamp recorded in the *Corpus*.

The cottage stands partly on the site of a rectangular Roman edifice, covering and including about one-half of its remains. Of the ancient building only the podium or platform and some courses of the walls are preserved, both built of big squared blocks of tufa. The long dimension runs roughly from north to south. The walls, consisting of a single thickness of stones, measured on the outside 17.25×7.4 m. The podium at its southern end, which alone could be examined, was 8.85 m. wide. If we assume that it extends for the same distance beyond the walls on all four sides, it would be about 18.7 m. long.

The horizontal width of some of the blocks on the east side (Fig. 20) was 1.05 m., 75 cm., and 90 cm. One block in the southeast corner measured $100 \times 69 \times 50$ cm. In the house-wall on the west side stood three courses of the ancient blocks *in situ*. No other architectural fragments or objects of any kind lay about. The building seems to have stood outside of the fortifications on the flat, broad spur by itself. Anyway, we saw nowhere along the outline of the latter any traces of a wall.

We cannot say with certainty that the edifice was a temple or shrine, but still that is quite likely, judging from the situation and the style. If so, the podium is unusually, though not unprecedentedly, narrow (8.85×18.7 m.), as a comparison of it, in the following table, with the podia of a number of other Roman temples reveals.¹ The dimensions of the latter are taken from Richard Delbrück's *Das Capitolium von Signia, Rome, 1903 [A]*; *Die drei Tempel am Forum holitorium, Rome, 1903, Loescher und Co. [B]*; *Baugeschichtliches aus Mittelitalien, in Mittheilungen, Röm. Abth., 1903 (2), pp. 141–163 [C]*; and from *Notizie degli Scavi, 1903*, p. 232 [D].

¹ In the table the podia are grouped to some extent by their geographic distribution, and their recorded dimensions are reduced to simple terms. This arrangement makes evident in some cases a certain correspondence between dimensions and locality, the same proportions occurring several times in a given locality or region, as one would naturally expect.



FIGURE 18.—A TERMINAL WALL OF A VAULTED CHAMBER OR CISTERN AT 51

Podium at Carsioli	8.85 × 18.70 m. = 1 : 2.11
Podium at Alba (A, p. 21)	14.50 × 20.77 m. = 1 : 1.43
Podium at Fiamignano (A, p. 24)	5.30 × 8.40 m. = 1 : 1.58
Podium at "Santestro" (C, p. 149)	6.00 × 15.50 m. = 1 : 2.58
Podium at Alba, San Pietro (B, p. 27)	16.00 × 24.00 m. = 1 : 1.50
Podium at Alba (B, p. 27)	7.35 × 11.00 m. = 1 : 1.50
Podium at Alba, 3d temple (B, p. 27)	ca. 17.50 × 17.50 m. = 1 : 1.00
Podium at Marzobotto, Temple D (B, p. 28)	9.10 × 9.20 m. = 1 : 1.01
Podium at Marzobotto, Temple C (B, p. 29)	ca. 17.25 × 17.25 m. = 1 : 1.00
Podium at Tivoli, Temple of Sibyl (B, p. 30)	8.00 × 15.00 m. = 1 : 1.87
Podium at Norba (B, p. 30) ¹	12.90 × 22.80 m. = 1 : 1.77
Podium at Norba (D)	9.92 × 20.47 m. = 1 : 2.06
Podium at Norba (B, p. 30) ¹	8.16 × 16.50 m. = 1 : 2.02
Podium at Segni (B, p. 30)	now 23.00 × 40.00 m. = 1 : 1.74
Podium at Nemi (B, p. 31)	15.90 × 30.00 m. = 1 : 1.89
Podium at Paestum, Corintho-Doric temple (B, p. 32)	13.40 × 25.60 m. = 1 : 1.91
Podium at Pompeii, Temple of Apollo (B, p. 33) . . .	12.25 × 20.00 m. = 1 : 1.63

59. A piece of the long wall that supports the east side of the eastern road for some distance beyond the second fork (Fig. 21). The wall is modern but partly built

of ancient blocks, and, since the road upon it runs along the eastern edge of the plateau as far as the fourth fork, the wall probably stands more or less on the site of the ancient tufa circuit-wall.

60. A fallen Roman milestone of the Via Valeria, already mentioned on pp. 111 and 115, and reproduced in Figure 22. It is of pale-gray limestone, 1.9 m. high, 74 cm. in diameter at the base and, according to Gori, like another now preserved in the Villa Massimo at Arsoli (*C.I.L. IX*, 5963). It lies



FIGURE 19.—THE HOUSE AND RUIN AT 58

From the southwest

east-northeast from 58, and, for reasons already given (p. 115), probably at or near its original place by the ancient road. It is recorded in the following words merely as existing in *C.I.L. IX*, 5964, having been seen by Gori:

"A Civita [id est Carsioli] verso la contrada Nasetta colonna millaria eguale a quella esistente ad Arsoli, col numero XXXXI.' Ita Gori nuora guida 4 p. 35 (cf. p. 60)² solus; cui si fides est nec loco mota est columnæ, probabile est eam olim numerum habuisse XXXXIII."

¹ See also *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, pp. 534 and 541.

² Pp. 115 and 140 in *Giornale arcadico*, tomo CLXXXII (1864).

Portions of the two uppermost lines containing the numerals and the imperial title we were able to read with the naked eye, and in part they may be seen even on our photograph, Fig. 22. More we could not make out from the stone itself, but in a



FIGURE 20.—THE HOUSE AND RUIN AT 58
From the southeast

rubbing obtained with a leather pad and black lead on tissue paper, when held about six feet off (a good way to read rubbings of defective inscriptions), we could easily decipher the remaining lines. The text is as follows :

XXXX *iii?*
 IMP NErva
 CAESAR AVGustus
 PONTIFEX MAXimus
 TRIBVNICIA
 POTESTATE COS III
 PATER PATRIAE
 FACIENDAM CVRAVIT

It agrees, excepting a detail of arrangement, and, of course, the mile-number, with the inscription on the milestone xxxviii (*C.I.L.* IX, 5963), mentioned above. The tribunicial power inscribed, being the first of the Emperor Nerva,¹ confirms our reading of the consulship as the third, which puts the erection of the stone into A.D. 97.

¹ Cf. R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Epigraphie Latine*. 3d ed. Paris, 1898, p. 187.

The conclusion of the *Corpus* that the mile-number was probably XXXXIII is apparently correct, as will appear from the following considerations:

The *Antonine Itinerary* (cf. *C.I.L.* IX, p. 204) gives the distance from Rome to Carsioli by the Via Tiburtina and the Via Valeria as 42 Roman miles; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*ibid.*) as 43 miles, both assuming the distance from Rome to Tibur to be 20 miles.



FIGURE 21.—ROAD-SUPPORTING WALL AT 59, CONTAINING ANCIENT BLOCKS OF TUFÀ

by Raffaello Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus Diss. tres*, 1680, p. 86 and map at p. 64), by Sir R. Colt Hoare (*loc. cit.*), and by J. H. Westphal (*Die römische Kampagne*, Berlin, 1829, p. 115), who wrote of it:

“Sie [the Via Valeria] führt zunächst an den vorliegenden Bergen aufwärts steigend, nach dem 3 Miglien entfernten Dorfe Rio Freddo, wo ein Stück von ihr, das erste alte Pflaster seit Tivoli, sichtbar ist und hierauf nach dem nur wenig weiter gelegenen Kasale von San Giorgio, wo rechts ein Weg [we will call this C] auf Arsoli und nach der Via Sublacensis abbiegt, der altes Pflaster zeigt. Die Via Valeria selbst ist von San Giorgio an, eine Strecke hindurch nicht mehr im Gebrauch, sondern der jetzige Weg geht etwas rechts zur Osteria del Cavaliere.”

The other road, which we will call B, that branched off to the right at Lamnae, continued up the Anio valley. On it, near the point where the 36th milestone should have stood, an important discovery was recently made (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, p. 160) of four milestones, within a few yards one of another, but none of them standing up.

Of two of these milestones, which both bear the number XXXVI, one has no other inscription and perhaps belongs to the time of Nero, who constructed the Via Sublacensis; the other bears two inscriptions of much later date, one belonging to A.D. 305–306 (cf. *C.I.L.* IX. 5967), the other to a few years later.

The third milestone, which is without a number, was erected between A.D. 367–375.

The fourth milestone cannot be read with certainty.

At this 36th mile from Rome, however, the Anio valley road (B) divided once more, one branch continuing as the Via Sublacensis southeastward. The other turned sharply to the north (this is the ancient branch-road (C) mentioned by Westphal).

The station Lamnae lay 13 miles beyond Tibur at the 33rd mile, where the Osteria della Ferrata now stands (see Maps on PLATE XIII, and Fig. 5). Here the Via Valeria divided into two roads.

One, which we will call A, kept more or less straight on and passed west of Mte. S. Elia by way of Riofreddo and the convent of San Giorgio to Carsioli. This is the road described as Via Valeria

crossed the Ponte Scutonico (cf. p. 108 and Figs. 2 and 3) and gently climbed along the slope to Arsoli, running above and nearly parallel to the modern highway. In the defile north of Arsoli it crossed the Ponte di San Giorgio. We could not find any of its pavement, but saw several pieces of a splendid polygonal supporting-wall south of Arsoli (cf. also *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1829, p. 44, note (*); 1831, p. 411, pl. F, 4). On it near Arsoli at a distance of about 5 Roman miles from Lamnae (*Ost. della Ferrata*, Maps, PLATE XIII), or about 2 Roman miles from the above-mentioned milestones bearing the number XXXVI, was found that finely preserved milestone, bearing the number XXXVIII (*C.I.L.* IX, 5963), now kept in the Villa Massimo at Arsoli. It was known to Stevenson as well as R. Fabretti (*op. cit.* p. 88).

By measuring on the Map from Lamnae along the probable route of the ancient roads B and C, as given by those milestones and the Ponte Scutonico to the Ponte di San Giorgio, and thence on by the path ——·——·—— (the probable site of the Via Valeria)¹ west of the railway, it is found that the 42nd milestone must have stood near the southern end of Carsioli, which agrees entirely with the distance from Rome (42 miles) given by the *Antonine Itinerary* (*C.I.L.* IX, p. 204). Hence the milestone found again by us at 60 (see Plan, PLATE XV) must be, as the *Corpus* states, the 43rd.

If, inversely, this is the 43rd milestone and near its original site, which there is no reason whatever to doubt, then the 42nd milestone stood roughly about 150 m. southwest of the commencement of the Via Civita, the *diverticulum* from the Via Valeria to the town; and then, if one measures the entire distance from our milestone by the Ponte Scutonico back to Lamnae, that should be 10 Roman miles, which, indeed, it almost exactly is.²

Curiously enough, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*C.I.L.* IX, p. 204) gives for the distance Lamnae-Carsioli 10 miles, and, as we have already noted, for the total distance Rome-Carsioli 43 miles! Since the town, being very long and narrow, lay really beyond the 42nd milestone and at the 43rd rather than this side of it, the disagreement of the two Itineraries is readily explained.

¹ Cf. Westphal, *loc. cit.* (p. 130, above).

² By way of Riofreddo (road A) the distance from Lamnae to Carsioli is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles. The latter town would then lie beyond the 39th milestone, and ours would be the 40th. But this agrees, as we have shown, neither with the Itineraries nor the other milestones nearer Rome on roads B and C.



FIGURE 22.—MILESTONE XXXIII OF THE VIA VALERIA AT 60

Hence it appears unquestionable that the important Roman highway of this region, known as the Via Valeria, ran (at least at the time when all the above-mentioned stones were in use) from Lamnae up the Anio valley as far as the 36th milestone, branched off northward near the latter, crossed the Ponte Scutonico and the Ponte di San Giorgio, and so reached Carsioli.

From the following remark by Frontinus (*ca. A.D. 35–103*, hence a contemporary of Nerva) about the intake of the Aqua Marcia, in *De Aquis Urbis Romae*, I, 7, it is clear that also for him the Via Valeria up to the 36th mile lay in the Anio valley, and not behind the mountains to the northwest:

“concipitur Marcia uia Valeria ad miliarium tricesimum sextum deuerticulo euntibus ab urbe Romae dextrorsus milium passuum trium. Sublacensi autem, quae sub Nerone principe primum strata est, ad miliarium tricesimum octauum sinistrorum intra passus ducentos fontium . . . sub . . . bus petrei . . . stat immobilis stagni modo coloro praeuiri.”

On the other hand, there can be no doubt, if the authors quoted above (pp. 114, 130) may be relied upon, that there existed also an ancient paved road going from Lamnae by way of the present Riofreddo to Carsioli; but of this we have found no pavement, nor are any milestones known. Such a road might have been originally or at some later time projected and even built for the Via Valeria, and then again more or less abandoned, as that route is now. The view that it was always considered and exclusively used as the Via Valeria seems quite untenable.

Before leaving this subject, a remarkable fact concerning the distance from Rome to Carsioli should at least be touched upon here. The *Antonine Itinerary* and the milestone-numbers agree in giving it as 42 miles. The distance from Tibur to Carsioli being actually 22 miles, 20 miles remain for the distance Tibur–Rome by the Via Tiburtina. The Itineraries give it thus, and so does a well-known epigram by Martial (IV, 57) alluding to Tibur:

“Tu colis Argei regnum, Faustine, coloni,
Quo te bis decimus dicit ab urbe lapis.

Herculeos colles gelida vos vincite bruma,
Nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus.”

It is therefore very strange that direct measurement by the Via Tiburtina, as we know it, does not give more than about 18 Roman miles, so that all stations on the Via Valeria, which began at Tibur, notwithstanding the numbers on its stones, were actually 2 miles nearer Rome than indicated.

Westphal has suggested an explanation of the discrepancy (*op. cit.* pp. 120–122), — but the discussion of this problem is reserved by Mr. Ashby for another place.

The inscription on the milestone **xxxxiii** at 60 and the brickstamp noted on p. 127 are the only epigraphic contribution we are able to make from Carsioli. The inscriptions already found there and in the neighborhood are recorded in *C.I.L. IX*, 4051–4102; in *Ephemeris epigraphica*, VIII, p. 48, 196 (also *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 86), and in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, p. 441. Some of these we saw ourselves.

61 and 62 are two heaps of ancient brick rubbish lying a little to the southwest of the milestone: they once belonged probably to one or more Roman tombs on the Via Valeria, perhaps to that mentioned by Gori (*op. cit.* p. 35, or *G. arc.* p. 115).

A fine parting view of the site of Carsioli is obtained from the higher land a little to the west of the milestone: it is the Panorama reproduced in PLATE XIV.

The ancient town appears to have given its name, slightly altered, to two modern towns, indeed very likely furnished some building-materials for them, namely, Arsöli¹ to the southwest and Carsöli² to the northeast (cf. Maps, PLATE XIII). At Arsoli



FIGURE 23.—A VIEW OF THE MODERN TOWN OF CARSOLI
From the railway-station

the castle of Prince Massimo contains some inscriptions and other local antiquities already known. The other town, Carsoli, is picturesquely situated on and about a castle-crowned hill that stands in the centre of a narrow mountain-valley (Fig. 23). To walk to its railway-station from the ancient site requires about 45 minutes. From there an evening train may be conveniently taken back to Rome.

On the way to the station lie a few more objects of interest.

Northeastward from the milestone stands the railway guard-house, Casello 72, on the embankment. It is a suitable place for crossing the track. In the walls bordering

¹ See Historic Notes, Appendix I, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*

the latter are embedded ancient worn paving-stones, like those seen near Il Cavaliere, which seems to prove that the Via Valeria passed near here, but has disappeared because its pavement has been taken up.

A rough road runs along the eastern wall northward. In it at some places Roman paving-stones still lie in the ground, so that we are here on the line of the Via Valeria



FIGURE 24.—THE DOOR OF THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA ANNUNZIATA AT CARSOLI

itself. At a short distance northward, to the east of the road, are scanty concrete foundations of a wayside tomb. Continuing, we reach the excellent modern highway near the present bridge over the shallow little river Turano, east of which may be observed the ruined ends of an old brick bridge, that seems to have stood on or very near the site of an earlier Roman bridge (Gori, *op. cit.* p. 60, or *G. arc.* p. 140). A few scattered stones, of apparently Roman workmanship, that may have belonged to such a structure, lie in the gravelly stream-bed near by, and others are incorporated in the

foundations of the old brick bridge.¹ Always following the earth-road that runs along through the fields and meadows slightly to the south of the highway, we arrive in about 20 minutes at a plain little stone church with a square campanile (now known as S. Maria Annunziata),² connected by a short foot-path with the modern highway. Where that path and the field-road by which we have approached from the south meet, there stands in the southern angle the fragment of a round marble column, 50 cm. in diameter, which was also a Roman milestone (mentioned by Fabretti, *op. cit.* p. 87, and recorded in *C.I.L. IX*, 5966). At present, however, its inscription is illegible.

The Romanesque doorway of the little church (Fig. 24) is adorned with well-preserved sculptured ornaments. On the sides and the round arch are conventional vines and scrolls with foliage, both in low relief upon an incised flat background, the vines starting from the tails of griffins and other quadrupeds. On the lintel are: in the centre, the lamb; on either side of it two figures, symbolic of the evangelists, each holding a book. The work is probably of about the eleventh or twelfth century.³

The church is in part built of Roman remains: in the tower, in the walls, in the floor of the pulpit, behind the church on the ground, we saw cut stones with the inscriptions *C.I.L. IX*, 4065, 4079, 4084, 4092, 4097 (cf. also *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, pp. 441, 442). Within the building, secured to one wall, are the two sadly weather-worn halves of an old carved wooden door, whose once magnificent panels displayed religious scenes.

Five minutes farther on lies the railway-station of Carsoli, from which the splendid view (Fig. 23) of the town was obtained. The latter seems to contain nothing of scientific interest to the archaeologist; but it has a new inn, the Albergo Umberto Primo, where he may refresh himself with excellent spaghetti and wine, and, if he chooses to spend the night in this bracing mountain-air, sleep in a good clean bed.

¹ The Roman remains in this neighborhood have been briefly recorded also by A. de Nino (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, pp. 441, 442). He observed the ancient bridges, traces of the Via Valeria and of tombs, but more of the latter than we did. His observations at that time did not include Carsoli. — About some ancient bridges likewise hereabouts, but probably nearer the modern Carsoli, cf. also Petri Antonii Corsignani *De Aniene et Viae Valeriae pontibus synoptica enarratio*, Rome, 1718, p. 45.

² There is doubt about its identity, though some modern writers connect it with the church of "Sancta Maria quae dicitur in Cellis" (*Chron. Casin.* lib. II, cap. 23), for which Rainaldus, comes Marsorum, founded a monastery for the Benedictines in 998 A.D. (cf. *C.I.L. IX*, 4065, 4079, 4084, 4092, 4097, and *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, p. 441). However, according to Corsignani (*Reggia Marsicana*, I, p. 214), S. Maria in Cellis was damaged (if not destroyed) by Manfred in 1260 A.D., and he speaks as if it did not exist in his own time (*ibid.* p. 197). Phoebonius, on the other hand, mentions it as still extant in 1678 (*op. cit.* p. 204), and as not far from the castle.

The milestone in front of the little church (see below) is said by the *Corpus* to be at La Nunziata, but by Fabretti (*op. cit.* p. 87) "prae foribus Ecclesiae B. Virginis de Carmelo."

Corsignani calls it S. Maria del Carmine (cf. also *C.I.L. IX*, 4087); but Madonna del Carmine was probably the name of another church near Carsoli, which was connected with a Carmelite convent, suppressed in 1652.

³ Compare G. T. Rivoira, *Le Origini dell' Architettura Lombarda*, etc., 1901, vol. I, p. 200, fig. 273, and p. 248, fig. 318.

APPENDIX I.—HISTORICAL NOTES

The site of Carsioli lay in the country of the Aequi, Aequani, Aequiculi, or Aequiculani, as they are variously called, and was probably occupied long before the Romans came into contact with them. They were an ancient hardy warlike people, mountaineers, fond of the chase, and much given to plundering their neighbors (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 746–749). They were also the tillers of the superb high plains in that mountainous region of the peninsula, and, as Gorl suggests (*op. cit.* p. 41, or *G. arc.* p. 121), may have received their name on that account (*aequum*, “a plain”; *colere*, “to dwell, till”). In the highlands about Fiamignano (Province of Aquila) there were still villages, he says, bearing the names *Cicoli*¹ and *Cicolani*; and there is an entire district still called the *Cicolano*,—modern names evidently connected with that distant age.

We know scarcely anything of their customs and institutions. Livy (I, 32) asserts that Numa borrowed from them the formalities used by the heralds in demanding reparation and proclaiming war (“ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur,” etc.), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II, 72) makes a statement to the same effect.

The Aequiculi often raided the Latin territory, harassed the Romans, and no doubt frequently proved superior to them in the guerilla warfare of their own mountains. After long-continued conflicts (Livy, II, 42; Diodorus Siculus, XI, 40) the Romans at last declared war against them under the consuls P. Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverio (450 A.U.C. or 304 B.C.), and in fifty days stormed and destroyed thirty-one of their towns (forty, according to Diodorus Siculus, XX, 101), thus practically putting an end to their independence (Livy, IX, 45).

Soon afterward the Romans seem to have established a colony of four thousand and a stronghold among them at Carsioli. The Marsi had apparently invaded that region about this time, and were holding it by force. At any rate, the report that they resisted the intrusion led at Rome to the appointment of M. Valerius Maximus as dictator. He marched against them and, according to the account, defeated them in a single battle (Livy, X, 3). This would have occurred in 453 A.U.C. or 301 B.C. It is therefore probable that the colony was sent to Carsioli in or shortly before 301 B.C.,—perhaps in 302 B.C., the date taken by Th. Mommsen (*The History of Rome*, 1903, vol. I, pp. 484, 486).

Livy states in another place (X, 1) that under the consuls L. Genucius Aventinensis and Ser. Cornelius Lentulus (*i.e.* in 451 A.U.C. or 303 B.C.) colonies were sent to Sora and Alba. We learn from his contemporary Velleius Paternus (I, 14) that this was done two years before the establishment of Carsioli. Taking the two statements together, we obtain therefore for the date of the latter again about 301 B.C.

Nevertheless, the date is doubtful; for Livy speaks,—although only in a disconnected sentence,—of the establishment of a colony of four thousand Romans in those parts a second time, about three years later, in 456 A.U.C. or 298 B.C., during the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus (X, 13). This date is taken, as Mommsen takes the other, without any explanation as to its uncertainty, by J. Beloch (*Der italische Bund*, 1880, p. 141), by J. Marquardt (*Römische Staatseverwaltung*, vol. I, 2nd ed. (1881), p. 50), and by B. Niese

¹ For the mediaeval form of this name, see p. 138, note 2.

(*Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (1897), p. 46, in I. v. Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. III, 5)! We are obliged to agree with Chr. Hülsen (Pauyl-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopaedie d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. III (1899), cols. 1615, 1616) that the question cannot be decided yet.

To account for the confusion in Livy some commentators, for instance Chaupy, believe that he merely repeated himself by drawing upon two sources following different systems of chronology. Tommaso Passeri, a modern local writer, contends (*La Colonia Carseolana*, etc., Rome, 1883) that we have really to do with two distinct Carsioli, founded four years apart: an earlier one, ours, in the country occupied by the *Marsi*; a later one,—settled from it nearer the Anio valley on the present site of Arsoli,—called the Carsioli of the *Aequiculi*, the two tribes being separated by the range of mountains between. This explanation looks improbable.

We find Carsioli next mentioned in 543 A.U.C. or 211 B.C., at the time of the Punic Wars, among the thirty Latin colonies. It was one of those twelve whose envoys at Rome protested their inability to furnish further assistance in men or money (Livy, XXVII, 9). For that offence these colonies were subsequently called to account. Their magistrates and ten of their leading citizens were obliged to go to Rome to be disciplined, and finally levies all the more severe were exacted from them (Livy, XXIX, 15).

Carsioli was a strongly fortified station on the Via Valeria and occasionally used as a place of confinement for political prisoners. In 586 A.U.C. or 168 B.C., Bitis, son of the king of Thrace, was kept there, having been taken prisoner in the third Macedonian war by L. Aemilius Paullus II (Livy, XLV, 42).

In the sanguinary Social or Marsian War, 664–666 A.U.C. or 90–88 B.C., it was besieged and destroyed. “Nec Annibalis, nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio. ecce Ocricum, ecce Nomentum, ecce Faesulae, ecce Carseoli, Aesernia, Reati, Nuceria et Picentia caedibus ferro et igne vastantur . . . nam ipse Iulius Caesar exercitu amissos cum in urbem cruentus referretur miserabili funere media urbe per viam defecit” (Florus, II, 6, 11–13).

It was rebuilt, however, and, since the Italians after the Social War were granted citizenship, probably became a *municipium*, belonging to the *tribus Aniensis* (W. Kubitschek, *De Romanarum Tribuum origine ac propagatione*, 1882, pp. 23, 65; J. Beloch, *Der Italische Bund*, 1880, p. 38); but reports of it continue to be few and scant.

At the time of Augustus, Carsioli seems to have received more colonists; but, whether to repeople or strengthen it, we do not know. The absence of information is due in part probably to the general standstill, if not decline, which must have befallen many places of this kind, originally outposts, under the growth and increasingly centralized organization of the Roman power.

From that age dates the little story which Ovid tells of it in the *Fasti* (IV, 681–712). Journeying homeward, he stopped at Carsioli and enjoyed the hospitality of a friend, who told him that a twelve-year-old lad, the son of plain toiling peasants, having once captured a female fox, tied reeds and hay about the animal, set fire to them, and let her go. The fox ran off through the fields,—it was harvest-time,—and in turn kindled the grain; so that,—the wind blowing,—a great conflagration ensued, which destroyed the entire crop. “Hence a law at Carseoli forbidding—something about foxes, which the corruption of the manuscript has obscured for us.” The aetiological character of this tale and its relation to the Cerealia of the 19th of April are discussed in W. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals* (London, 1899, pp. 77–79).

Pliny, a little later (*N.H.* III, 17), speaks of the inhabitants of Carsioli, *Carseolani*, together with the *Aequiculani* and *Cliternini*, as dwellers in the fourth Region. The names

of but a few have drifted down to us. To those mentioned on inscriptions recorded in the *Corpus* (Vol. IX, Carsioli and Aequiculi), we will add M. Anneus "Carseolanus," a rich Roman knight, spoken of by Valerius Maximus (VII, vii, 2), and Julia Modestina, who attained the wonderful age of a hundred and twenty years (Phlegon Trallianus. Περὶ μακροβίων, cap. 3).

After the fall of the empire, in the eighth century, the monk Paulus Diaconus (Paul Warnefried) in his history of the Lombards (*Hist. Longob. rer. II*, 20) names Carsioli as a city of the thirteenth province Valeria. But it was probably then in an already advanced state of decline; for we learn of the existence at about the same time of the two modern towns, Arsoli and Carsoli, situated to the southwest and northeast respectively, whose names seem to indicate that they originated at the expense of the old town. Arsoli is referred to as "Castellum Arsularum" in 832 A.D. (*Bull. Rom. Pont. Coll.* vol. I, p. 172), and the ecclesia "Sancti Angeli in Carzolo [Carsoli] cum duabus Cellis suis" in 866 A.D. in a diploma of Louis II (*Chron. Casinensis*, lib. I, 37).¹

In 941 we hear of Carsioli again in an investiture by Hugo and Lothaire, kings of Italy, under the name of Sala (*Chron. Sublacense, R.I.S. XXIV*, col. 953).²

In 1057 we find its name, though incorrectly spelled, in a reference to the ecclesia "nostræ S. Dei Genetricis Virginis Mariæ in Carsebelo cum decimis & oblationibus," etc. (*Bull. Rom. Pont. Coll.* vol. I, p. 398). In that century also it passed from the possession of the Conti de' Marsi into the hands of the abbots of Subiaco. But it must have still existed, if nothing more, up to the twelfth century, for in a *conferma* (1115 A.D.) of Pope Pascal II, which mentions a church of S. Maria in Carseolo (cf. Phoebonius, *loc. cit.* p. 112, above), it is spoken of as "Sala (a corruption of Cellae?) Civitas, quæ vocatur *Carseolis*" (*Chron. Sublacense, R.I.S. XXIV*, col. 951). Another name for it was Carsolū, which has been seen inscribed upon a stone near the door of the basilica of S. Scolastica at Subiaco.

A bull of Pope Honorius (1216–1226) (*Bullar. Casin.* vol. II, p. 247) shows that it still figured as a city or town in that age. "Sala Civitas," it says, "quæ vocatur Carseolus cum Massis . . . Auricula [Oricola] . . . Arsoli . . . in territorio Marsicano."

All this proves that Carsioli was not finally abandoned before the thirteenth century. Probably, as Gori suggests, the warlike times drove the inhabitants to higher sites, where they built many of the neighboring castles and towns.

But the tradition of the ancient city survives to this day; for the peasants, as already remarked, call the present ruins Civita Carenza; civita (for Latin *civitas*) being the usual name among them for such sites. The meaning of Carenza is not known.

¹ Revillas says (*op. cit.*) that the modern Carsoli was for a time in the Middle Ages called Castel Sancti Angeli; then le Celle di Carsoli, because St. Romualdo, founder of the Camaldulensian order, built some cells there for his monks; and that finally, by leave of Philip II, king of Spain, it took the name of Carsoli early in the seventeenth century.

² "Nota, quod hi duo Reges, scilicet Hugo, & Lotharius divina providente Clementia, multa bona obtulerunt Monasterio Sublacensi. Fratribusque ibidem pro tempore Deo famulantibus. Per hoc nostræ auctoritatis preceptum. Curtem hactenus juris Regni nostri pertinentem, que Sala dicitur, cum omni sua pertinentia, omnibusque rebus ibidem aspicientibus, conjacentibus in Territorii, & finibus Sublaci, & Ciculi [cf. p. 136, above], & Reate, atque Savini, prout juste & legaliter possumus, donamus, penitusque concedimus, atque largimur, & de nostro jure & dominio ad usum Monachorum transferimus. Etiam confirmamus, & corroboramus, quæ ibidem collata sunt ab Imperatoribus, sive Regibus Predecessoribus nostris, ut habetur in Privilegiis eorum."

"Signa piissimorum Principum Hugonis, & Lotharii Regum."

"Siperandus Cancellarius, Anno Domini Nonocentesimo quadragesimo primo," [etc.].

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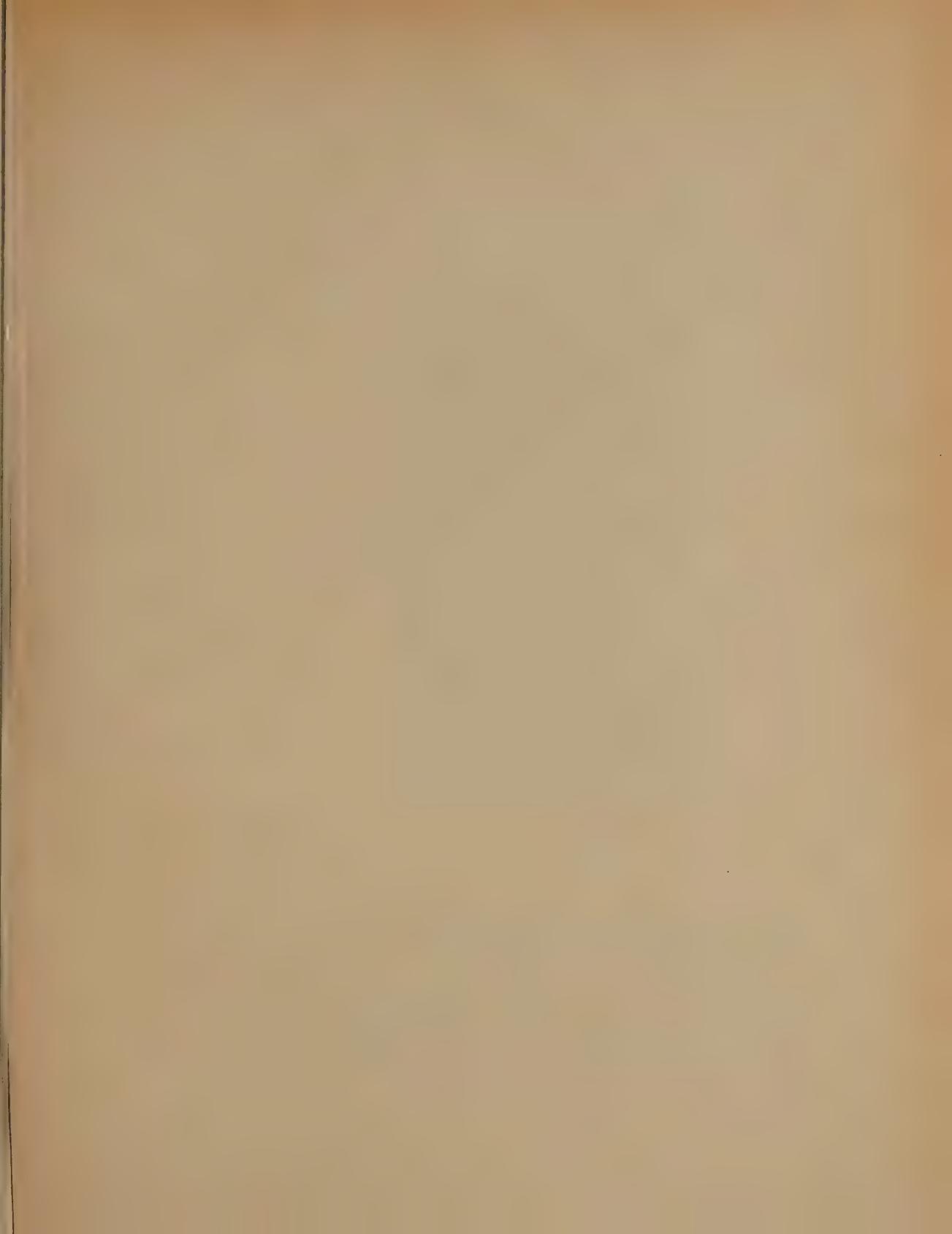
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The authors have surveyed, studied, and photographed the site and remains of Carsioli together; but Mr. Pfeiffer is mainly responsible for the composition of this paper, for the drawings, and the Plan.

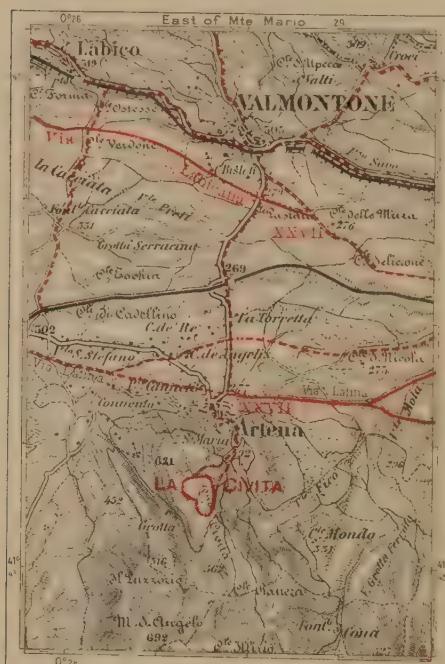
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THOMAS ASHBY, JR.

ROME, March, 1904.



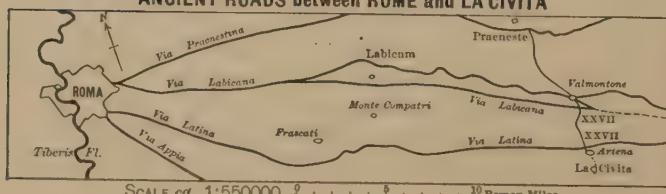
LA CIVITA near ARTENA and Environs.



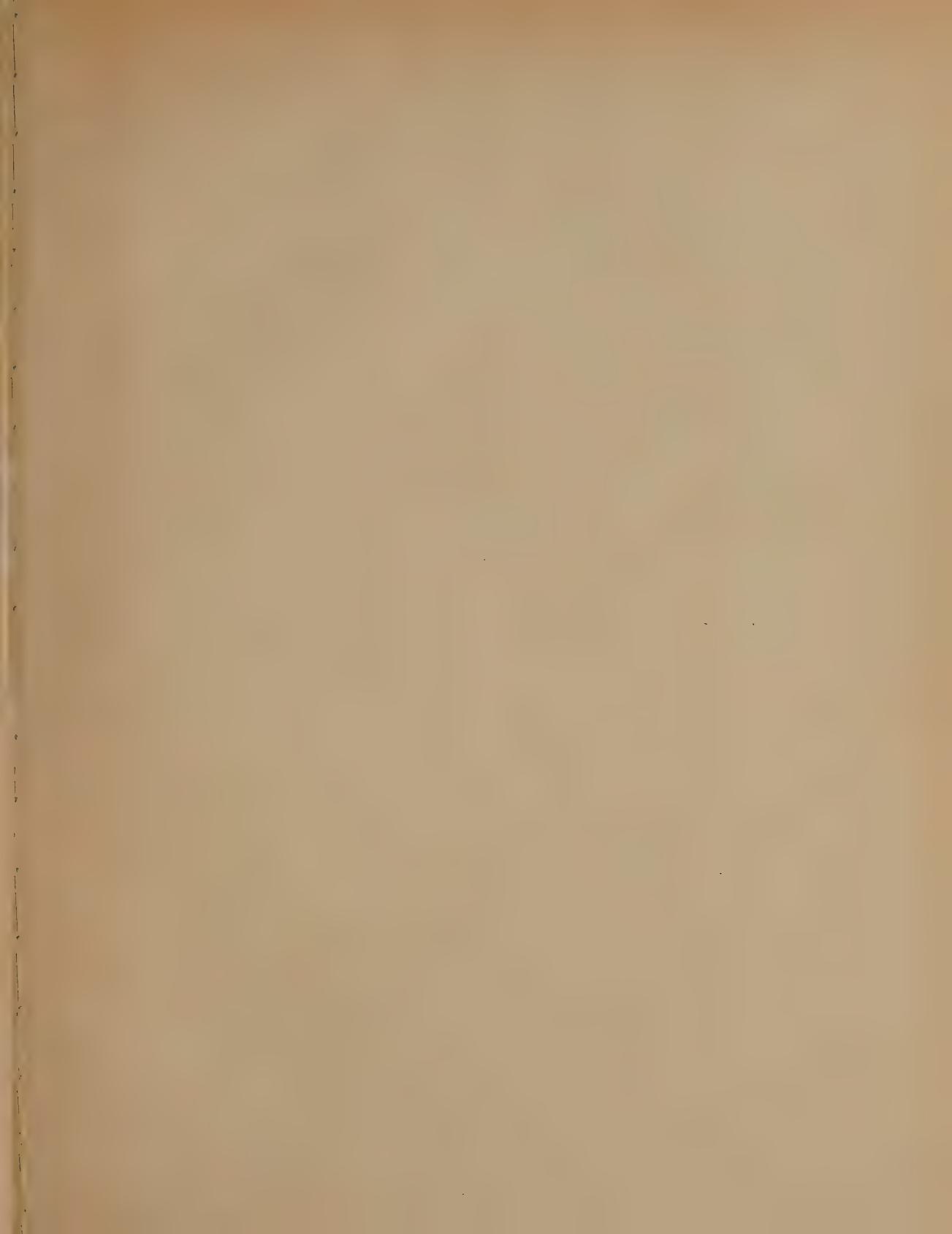
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ANCIENT ROADS between ROME and LA CIVITA



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DIE APHRODITE VON ARLES

IN der *Revue archéologique*, 1902,¹ habe ich zu zeigen versucht, dass die im Louvre befindliche Replik² der berühmten Venus-Statue von Arles identisch ist mit jener Figur, die Pierre Jacques in seinem Skizzenbuch als in der Sammlung Cesi befindlich auf Tafel 9 gezeichnet hat und zwar mit einem nicht zugehörigen Kopf, ferner dass dieser Kopf jetzt auf der Gewandfigur Clarac-Reinach, 167. 4, aufsitzt und dass der jetzige auf der Replik befindliche Kopf gleichfalls nicht zugehörig ist. Trotz der Einsprache Michons³ muss ich auch heute noch an dieser Anschauung festhalten. Die Statue von Arles wurde, wie bekannt, im Jahre 1683 von der Munizipalverwaltung von Arles König Ludwig XIV geschenkt, nachdem sie bereits 1651 gefunden worden war. Im Jahre 1684 wurde sie nach vorher eingeholter Zustimmung des Königes von dem Bildhauer Girardon ergänzt. Dabei gab dieser der Göttin einen Apfel in die rechte Hand und einen Spiegelgriff in die Linke. Diese Ergänzung ist offenbar unrichtig. Vor allem war der linke Arm anders bewegt, wie dies nicht nur der künstlerische Aufbau des Werkes verlangt, sondern wie es auch durch die zweite, daneben stehende Wiederholung wahrscheinlich wird. Ferner ist die Zusammenfügung der zwei Attribute, die in gar keinem inneren Zusammenhang stehen, gewiss nicht korrekt. Die noch von Clarac, pl. 340, 130 F. (Clarac-Reinach, 173. 6) angenommene Ergänzung macht aus dieser Statue eine Venus Victrix. Doch hat bereits Fröhner in seinem Louvre-Catalog⁴ diese Annahme als schlecht begründet zurückgewiesen. Die von ihm, wie ich glaube zuerst, ausgesprochene Annahme geht dahin, dass die Linke einen Spiegel hält, während die Rechte sich dem Kopf näherte, um an der Frisur etwas zu richten. Dieser Ansicht schliesst sich auch Furtwängler⁵ an, indem er gleichzeitig die Entblössung mit dem Umstände motiviert, dass die Göttin mit ihrer Toilette beschäftigt sei.

Gegen diese Erklärung der Aktion der Göttin scheinen mir nun gewichtige Gründe vorzuliegen. Vor allem ist die Haartracht an dieser Statue vollständig in Ordnung und ist an derselben nichts zu ordnen. In sorgfältig gelegten, parallelen Streifen ziehen die einzelnen Strähne wellig zum Hinterkopf, von einem dreifachen Bande umschlungen. Die Aktion wäre daher als solche unmotiviert, und dadurch unklar. Denn die Hand könnte sich höchstens dem Haare genähert haben, keinesfalls hat sie dasselbe berührt,

¹ Troisième série, tome XL, p. 301, Taf. XII.

² Fröhner, 138; Clarac-Reinach, 173; Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 293.

³ *Revue archéologique*, 1903, tome XLI.

⁴ Fröhner, No. 137.

⁵ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 319.

da sich sonst Ansatz-Spuren der Finger erhalten hätten. Von solchen ist aber absolut nichts vorhanden. Auch die Deutung der Gestalt auf die Aphrodite von Thespiae des Praxiteles¹ scheint mir nach der ganz summarischen, blossen Nennung ohne nähere Beschreibung nichts zu stützen, sondern vielmehr eine reine Vermuthung.

Furtwängler, der diese Hypothese aufstellt, die auch Collignon² annimmt, supponiert die gleiche Aktion für die schöne Statue aus Ostia im British Museum³ in London, die er für ein Phryne-Bild des Praxiteles hält. Bei diesem letzteren Werke halte ich die angenommene Tätigkeit für völlig ausgeschlossen und zwar wegen des Umstandes, dass der Kopf von dem vermeintlichen Spiegel direkt weggewendet ist, dieser daher sinnlos erscheinen muss.

Und auch bei der Aphrodite von Arles scheint mir die gesamte Konzeption sowie die Haltung der Arme gebieterisch eine andere Deutung zu verlangen — nämlich die des Spinnens. Die rechte Hand hätten wir uns dann zu denken als den Spinnrocken haltend, während die Linke den Faden zog, an dem unten die Spindel herabging. Frei und ungezwungen erklärt sich hiedurch die Aktion der Arme, ebenso wie die Neigung des Kopfes. Doch auch in künstlerischer Beziehung verdient diese Deutung, wie ich meine, den Vorzug. Wir erhalten hiedurch einen vollständig geschlossenen Linienzug. Der reale Faden bildet nun die Verbindung beider Arme und zugleich die Gerade, durch welche die Schwin-



FIGURE 1.—DIE APHRODITE VON ARLES

gung in der Führung des oberen Gewandrandes einen Maasstab erhält. Es ist vielleicht nicht uninteressant zu bemerken, dass der künstlerische Reiz dieser Linienführung seinen Einfluss auch auf moderne Meister ausgeübt hat, wir finden den Zug dieser Curve fast identisch wiederkehren in dem Bilde von Paul Thumann: "die drei Parzen."⁴ Ja die mittlere Gestalt kann unbedenklich beinahe als Restaurationsskizze verwendet werden.

¹ Furtwängler, *ll.* p. 319.

² Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, p. 270.

³ Furtwängler, *ll.* p. 320; Clarac-Reinach, 319.

⁴ Gravure Hanfstängel, 4939.

Es erscheint von vornehmerein sicher, dass die Frauenstatue von Arles eine Aphrodite darstellt und zwar sowohl durch die Entblössung des Oberkörpers, wie durch die fast geschwisterliche Ähnlichkeit mit der Aphrodite von Knidos. Und da erheben sich denn auch scheinbar zwei gewichtige Einwände gegen die vorgeschlagene Rekonstruktion. Es fragt sich ob die Tatsache einer spinnenden Aphrodite überhaupt zu rechtfertigen ist und ferner wie die halbe Entblössung des Körpers erklärt werden soll bei einer Spinnerin.

Nun lesen wir aber bei Pausanias:¹ ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταύτα καὶ τοῦ Ἐρμαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. Ähnliches sagt auch das Epimenides-Fragment:²

ἐκ τοῦ καλλίκομος γένετο χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη
Μοῖραι τ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ Ἐρίνες αἰσλόδωροι.

So sehen wir denn an dieser letzteren Stelle Aphrodite als Schwester der Moiren erscheinen, während sie bei Pausanias direkt als älteste der Moiren genannt wird. Und diese Auffassung Aphrodites ist ja aus der ganzen Natur ihres Wesens leicht begreiflich. Sie ist nicht nur "die Göttin der Gärten, Blumen und Lusthaine, die reizende Göttin des Frühlings und der Frühlingslust, die Göttin des sinnlichen Reizes und der Liebe," sondern speziell als Urania auch die Göttin der reinen und ehelichen Liebe und eine Göttin des Kindersegens. So ist sie mit dem Geschick des Menschen vom Momente seines ersten Eintrittes ins Leben an eng verknüpft und aus diesem Gedanken heraus entwickelt sich bereits sehr früh die Vorstellung von ihr als älteste der Moiren. Und so hätten wir denn in der spinnenden Aphrodite eben eine Verkörperung dieser Idee zu sehen — und die älteste der Moiren — hier Aphrodite — heisst ja sonst Klotho "die Spinnerin." Kann es uns Wunder nehmen, dass Praxiteles, der wie kein zweiter vor ihm das Wesen der "goldenene Göttin" erfasst hatte, auch diese neue, tiefere Seite im Wesen Aphroditens darstellte? Er, der in der Knidierin die ewig bewunderte höchste Vollendung der Schönheit geschaffen, er lieh der Göttin auch Dasein als ernste Schicksalswalterin.

Nun aber berichtet Plinius,³ dass Praxiteles nebst anderen Gestalten auch gemacht habe eine "catagusa." Vielfache Deutungen dieses Wortes sind versucht worden, den meisten Beifall fand und ziemlich allgemein angenommen wurde die Erklärung von Urlichs,⁴ der in der "catagusa" eine Spinnerin sieht, indem er das Wort ableitet von "κατάγειν" den Faden herabziehen. Ist diese Deutung richtig, dann ist es aber das Nächstliegende, die literarisch überlieferte "Spinnerin" des Praxiteles mit der statuarisch erhaltenen desselben Meisters zu identificieren, mit anderen Worten, dann könnten wir im Original der Aphrodite von Arles die "Catagusa" des Praxiteles sehen und diese "Catagusa" wäre dann nicht eine blosse Genre-Figur, wie dies von vornehmerein unwahrscheinlich ist, sondern die von dem Meister am meisten bevorzugte Göttin Aphrodite, dargestellt in ihrer Function als Moire, als Spinnerin.

¹ I. 19. 2 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 813).

² Cf. hiezu und zum folgenden, Preller-Robert, *Gr. Mythologie*, p. 358 ff.

³ N. H. XXXIV, 69 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1199).

⁴ Urlichs in der *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1894, pp. 227 ff.

Hiebei sei nur vermutungsweise erwähnt, dass uns vielleicht literarisch noch eine zweite Moire desselben Meisters überliefert ist, in der von Plinius erwähnten "Opora"¹ die wir uns dann als Moire mit dem Füllhorn vorzustellen hätten, etwa in der Art wie sie auf Sarkophagen erscheint.

Wenn wir nun in der spinnenden Gestalt eine Aphrodite und mit Recht sehen dürfen, dann verliert die Tatsache, dass die Göttin nur halb bekleidet ist viel von ihrem befremdlichen Charakter. Bietet doch selbst für unser modernes Sehen eine nur halb oder gar nicht bekleidete Venus-Statue, selbst ohne tiefere Motivierung dieses Umstandes, nur eine ganz natürliche Erscheinung — um wie viel mehr ist dies für die Antike der Fall. Was bei einer anderen Göttin eine spezielle Begründung erfordern würde, ist hier durch das Wesen der dargestellten Gottheit von selbst gegeben. Im Übrigen mangelt es nicht an Parallelen für diese Erscheinung.² Begründet kann sie damit werden, dass die Göttin eben in ihrer Tätigkeit das Gewand halb abgelegt habe, um durch dasselbe nicht behindert zu sein.

Ebenso wenig vermag der Umstand einen Gegengrund zu bilden, dass die "Catagusa" von Plinius unter den Bronzewerken genannt wird. Die Aphrodite von Arles lässt keinerlei bindenden Schluss zu auf das Material, in welchem das Original hergestellt war, und in dem Athener Torso³ das Original zu sehen ist bloss Annahme. Hingegen scheinen technische Details eher für die Bronze als das ursprüngliche Material zu sprechen, wie z. B. das Band, das im Nacken sich verschiebt. Ein derartiges Abstehen widerspricht der Gebrechlichkeit des Marmors und ist nur der Bronze angemessen.

ARTHUR MAHLER.

Rom, November, 1903.

¹ Plin. *N.H.* XXXIV, 70 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1279).

² Z.B., der Prometheussarkophag, Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Alterthümer in Rom*, I², 457; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der Antiken Kunst*, II, 838.

³ Reinach, *Répertoire*, 369. 4; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer u. römischer Sculptur*, Taf. 300 a.



A LATERAL AND A MEDIAL SECTION OF THE BRAIN OF A YOUNG BOY FROM ROM-

A NEW VARIANT OF THE "SAPPHO" TYPE

[PLATE XVII]

THERE are several types of heads known under the name of "Sappho." Some of these may really be more or less accurate portraits of this most famous of Greek lyric poets. However, there can be no question of a portrait in one of the types,—that with the hair bound three times with a fillet, which Furtwängler, in his *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*,¹ assigns to a Pheidian origin. The face shows too plainly the idealization common in early Greek sculpture to allow us to consider it a portrait, while the narrow, almond eyes, the arrangement of the coiffure, and the general expression of the face are perfectly suited to the type of "Aphrodite."

This type, whether or not it represents Aphrodite, must have been very popular in antiquity, for no less than twenty-two copies of it are already known.² The latest addition to the list recently came to light in Rome, and is of interest as showing some clear variations from other replicas. It is now in the Art Museum at Worcester, Massachusetts (PLATE XVII).

This new head, which seems to be of Parian marble, is made in two pieces, the back being wrought of a separate block and attached by an iron clamp.³ The end of the nose, large masses of the hair, and one of the pendant side-locks are gone, while the entire surface has suffered from chipping and incrustation. Nevertheless, all the accidents of time, weather, and the excavator's pickaxe have not been able to obliterate the dignity and charm of this lovely head; for, like all truly beautiful works of art, whatever is left of it, however fragmentary, is still beautiful.

In its proportions, the head shows the same somewhat excessive length as others of the type, due to the great knot of hair at the back. The face is a long and delicate oval. The neck is full and round. The head is slightly above life-size.

The hair, which is bound three times by a fillet, is treated in a somewhat schematic, but very rich and plastic manner, in accordance with the habit of the fifth-century

¹ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 66-69. Cf. Reinach, *Receuil de Têtes Antiques*, pp. 69 f.

² Eighteen copies enumerated by Furtwängler; one added by Helbig, *Führer* (English ed.), p. 148; one in private possession in London; one in an antiquary's shop in Rhodes on the island of Rhodes; and the head under discussion.

³ The exact reason of this is hard to find. The back might have been an ancient restoration, but the fact that it is of the same marble, and both parts are of the same excellent workmanship, make this very doubtful.

Greek sculptors. In one important respect the hair of this copy differs from that of all the others, in that it escapes from under the front fold of the fillet in the *centre* of the forehead instead of over the centre of each eye, as in all the other examples. It runs in a gently waving line back to the rich, thick bunches of curls that crop out in front of each ear, and gives a distinctly pointed shape to the forehead. As this occurs in no other replica, it may have been an addition of the copyist who, wishing to add something of the Praxitelean charm to the rather severe beauty of the original, took this method of pointing the forehead to accomplish his end. He has certainly succeeded, for the face of this bust is far gentler and sweeter than those of the other repetitions with the square forehead.

In another point this new head differs from all the others save one. This difference is in the thick tress of hair which escapes from under the folds of the fillet behind each ear and, hanging free from the neck, rests on the shoulder. This feature is found in but one other replica, the double herm in Madrid, with a head of the "Sappho" on one side and of a youth on the other. The locks (or rather the lock, for only the left one remains) on the new bust is much more satisfactorily treated. It stands free from the ear, is rich and full, and has nothing of the stringy quality seen in the Madrid herm. These locks may be (like the forehead) due to the copyists, or perhaps, though only occurring in two copies, they may show a characteristic of the original head, for such tresses are common enough on statues of the fifth century. But also on herms they were common in later times as a traditional survival of the archaic type of herms with long hanging locks. However, our head is not a herm! Hence, probably, this feature in the Madrid head is due to the influence of the herm, while in our head it is due to a desire to soften the type.

The generous knot of hair on the back of the head is partly bound underneath by the fillet, but is not held in a *σάκκος*, as in many copies.¹ The treatment of the curly ends of the hair is particularly fine. The ends of the fillet are tied in a knot on the nape of the neck and hang loosely down.

The eyes, which are long and narrow, are not deeply set. The lids are chiselled but lightly, especially the lower, which is scarcely differentiated from the eyeball. It is remarkable that the upper lid does not overlap the under in the outer corner of the eye. The slight modelling gives a rather indefinite, soft, swimming expression to the eyes, such as is often seen in later types of Aphrodite. The brows are but slightly arched, and the distance between them and the upper eyelid is short. The nose is long and nearly straight, and is rather flat along the ridge. The mouth is large; the lips are slightly parted, the upper only gently curved, the lower full and sharply receding underneath. The chin is narrow and rounded. The ears, which are placed fairly high, are the most poorly executed part of the head, and are largely hidden by the hair.

How near this last addition to the list of replicas comes to the original, it is, of course, impossible to say. The fact that this copy alone has the pointed forehead would seem to show that in this particular it departs from the model. The same is

¹ Compare head in Villa Borghese, Room IV, No. 85.

true as regards the pendant side tresses; for, since there is only one other replica which has this feature (and that one is a herm), it would seem that here again we have a divergence from the original, although there is no positive proof that both features were not to be found in the original.

The presence of distinct traits of the Pheidian age in all the copies helps to date the origin of this type, but who the master was is still unknown. Furtwängler, in his *Masterpieces*, confidently asserts that in these copies he has recovered the lost "Aphrodite" by Pheidias himself.¹ He points out that the forehead is high and free, and that the curls escape freely only above the ears, in the manner of the "Athena Parthenos"; that the rich plastic waving of the hair on the top of the head is genuinely Pheidian; and that the ears are shaped like those of the "Lemnian Athena." But in our copy, at least, the forehead and curls are not like the "Athena Parthenos," nor are the ears in this and most of the other copies of the large-lobed, shell-like sort most characteristic of Pheidias. But even granting these points, are such general resemblances sufficient to warrant our assigning this type to the master himself? Are they not quite as much the characteristics of the age of Greek sculpture in which Pheidias flourished as those of the foremost master of that age? The mere fact that a work of sculpture has undoubted marks of a particular epoch is not sufficient reason for assigning it to the most famous sculptor of the epoch. It is much more satisfactory to assign a given type to a particular master; but, in this case, at least, it seems quite impossible to do so with any fairness or confidence.

The workmanship of the bust under consideration is in most respects remarkably good, so that it seems probable it is Greek rather than Roman. Then, too, there is nothing of the dry, mechanical quality, or of the high polish frequently seen on Roman copies, while the delicate modelling of the face, the peculiar rendering of the eyes, and the free yet orderly treatment of the hair, show that the sculptor was not only master of his materials, but could understand and copy ably the famous works of an earlier age.

HERBERT RICHARD CROSS.

¹ *Masterpieces*, pp. 66, 67.

NOTE

It appears that there is a difference of opinion among competent judges with regard to the antiquity of the marble here discussed by Mr. Cross, some authorities maintaining that the head is a modern forgery, others that it is a work of the best epoch of Greek sculpture. The Committee thinks it advisable, nevertheless, to publish the article with this statement, thus opening the discussion of the authenticity of the marble to a much wider public than is usual in similar cases.—J. H. W.

THE CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA

THIS sarcophagus was discovered in April, 1901, during the excavations in S. Maria Antiqua, in the Roman Forum. Marucchi first published it in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and afterwards in a special article with phototype in the third fascicle of the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, 1901, pp. 206–216. His suggestions regarding the provenience of the monument are very interesting and ingenious, but his description of it is incomplete and his interpretation of the scenes seems to me extravagant (Fig. 1).

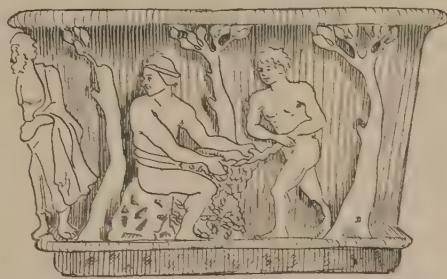


FIGURE 1.—SARCOPHAGUS IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA (FACE)

The sarcophagus used to be in the corridor leading to the ascent to the Palatine, on the left of the church, and was so placed that one could photograph only the front. Its dimensions are those of a single sarcophagus, 2.17 m. in length, 0.675 m. in breadth, 0.66 m. in height. The back is plain, the front and rounded ends decorated. The scenes, beginning at the right (Fig. 2), are as follows: Two fishermen, naked, save for the *perizoma*, one at the right, standing, facing left, another at the left, sitting, facing left, hold a net between them, through the meshes of which may be seen the heads of fish. Next is the baptism of Christ: the Baptist at right, facing left, clad in pallium only, stands on a rock, resting his right hand on the head of the Christ; the Saviour, represented as a boy, stands naked in a pool or stream, facing left; above his head appears the descending dove. The Good Shepherd comes next, erect, facing left, dressed in the *exomis*, or sleeveless tunic, and carrying a ram on his shoulders, while at his feet and behind him to right and left stand two more, looking back and up at him. The legs of the Good Shepherd are not well finished, but the artist seems to have

intended to represent shoes on the feet, with greaves or plaited stockings around the calves. The centre of the sarcophagus is occupied by two figures whose faces were merely blocked out and never finished: on the right a male "philosopher" figure, in pallium only, seated on a draped sella and reading a scroll; to the left, an *orans*, or praying figure, standing, dressed in sleeveless tunic and palla. Between them, at the feet of the orans, is a dove, partly enveloped by her palla, its tail concealed by her tunic. It looks backward and upward at the orans. The rest of the decorated space to the left is occupied by the story of Jonah. At the extreme left (Fig. 3), upon a rock or promontory, sits a sea divinity, with drapery thrown across his left arm, loins, and right leg. In his left hand he holds erect a trident. From the eminence on which he sits flow the waters of the sea, on which tosses a ship, to the right, sailing left. The sail is furled, denoting the storm. In the bow we see what seems to be a standard. The hull is decorated with spirals. In the stern to the right stands a sailor working one of the rudders; in the bow another sailor of smaller size raises his arms and gazes back at the monster. The monster appears to the right, coiling along the surface of the water and looking toward Jonah, who is sleeping, naked, under the gourd to the right. The gourd takes the form of an arbor. On the top of this arbor, which slants downward from right to left, are three rams, two to the right, reclining, looking right, one to the left, standing, looking left. The landscape background is indicated throughout by trees, but very feebly, save where the trees stand out to divide the scenes.

FIGURE 2.—SARCOPHAGUS IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA
(RIGHT END)



We have here, perhaps, the earliest example of regular division of scenes, which was later effected by more conventionalized trees and then by columns and pilasters. Marucchi assigns the sarcophagus to the first half of the fourth century, from a comparison with other monuments and the reminiscences of classic style in the figures. The scenes are lively, the composition less oppressively symmetrical than in the generality, the figures better.

The decoration consists of a mixture of pagan and Christian motives. The fisher-

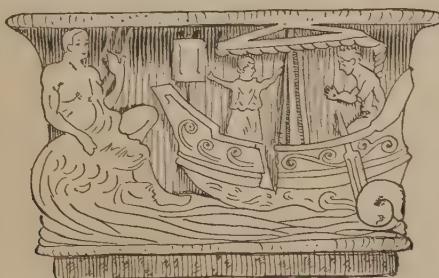


FIGURE 3.—SARCOPHAGUS IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA
(LEFT END)

men seem to belong to the former, being selected along with the baptism to balance the marine scene on the other end of the sarcophagus. Thus a fishing scene is used to balance the story of Jonah on a Lateran sarcophagus (G.¹ 307, 1) and another forms a

¹ Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*.

pendant to a *putto* in a boat on the ends of a sarcophagus in Ravenna (G. 371, 3 and 4). The baptism is probably the earliest to occur on sarcophagi. The others may be seen in Strzygowski, *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, pl. i, except the one on a Lateran sarcophagus (*Bull. di Arch. crist.* 1882, pp. 90–91, pl. ix), reproduced in Marucchi's article in the *Nuovo Bullettino*, and a fragment from the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilles (published by Grousset, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens*, no. 162). It does not differ from the others. Christ is always a boy, and the Baptist sometimes wears the pallium. In the catacomb frescoes he is always dressed in exomis or perizoma (Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Sakramenthäppellen*, p. 19, note 3). Passing over the Good Shepherd, which presents nothing new, we come to the central figures, a sitting male figure, in philosopher's pallium, reading a scroll, and a female orans. This group is a Christian adaptation of the "philosophical conversation," which was fairly frequent in pagan sarcophagi, paintings, and reliefs. An example of the pagan model may be seen on the sarcophagus figured in Garrucci, 371, 5, and a number of Christian imitations are collected in Garrucci's plates 370, 371. On our sarcophagus the two figures were intended for portraits, the heads being merely blocked out. The same unfinished head is observed in the case of the orans which occurs on seven sarcophagi in the Lateran, and an orans bust on a sarcophagus in the Kircherian Museum. On five of the Lateran sarcophagi (Nos. 122, 148, 154, 160, 161; G. 374, 2; 380, 4; 316, 4; 376, 2; 382, 2–4) the orans is the only figure left unfinished, as in the case of the central figures here. The orans type on our sarcophagus is one often carved on epitaphs to represent the defunct *in pace*, the phrase being pictorially translated by the dove at the orans' feet. The type is a convenient one for the sculptor. Figures of *orantes* with doves on the epitaphs might be cited in abundance, but particularly striking is the figure, exactly like ours, save that the dove is on the left of the woman, which may be seen on the epitaph of Aurelia Sirice in the Lateran (Fig. 4; G. 484, 12). This dove has the same meaning as the more common one carrying the olive branch in its bill, which is labelled **PAX** in another Lateran inscription (G. 486, 9). It is in some cases interpreted to mean the Christian or the Christian's soul, but no distinction between the types was observed by the Christian stone-cutters, who used each of them in both senses. Thus in G. 484, 1, the *in pace* dove

which brings celestial comfort to Jonah has no olive branch, and in G. 486, 16, two doves of the individual kind, labelled with the names of two women, *Benera* and *Sabbatia*, carry the olive branch nevertheless. Our artist has borrowed the same type to represent his dead Christian and copied it so closely that we certainly have here a survival of catacomb tradition. The dove soon drops out on the sarcophagi. Another praying figure accompanied by it appears as the left terminal figure on a Pisan sarcophagus, of which I shall speak later. There is some doubt about the dove, however, and the sarcophagus is apparently earlier than ours.

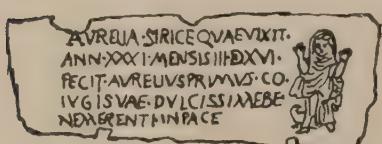


FIGURE 4.—EPIGRAPH OF AURELIA SIRICE,
LATERAN, ROME
(Garrucci, 484, 12)

The lively Jonah scene presents several points of interest. A very close parallel to it, even to the spirals on the ship's hull, is that on a sarcophagus-cover in the Palazzo

Rondanini, Rome (Fig. 5; G. 397, 12, described by Grousset, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens*, under no. 154). The furled sail and standard are common to both compositions. The furled sail is new, being regularly full on sarcophagi. On the other hand, the sail is furled in the catacombs. The survival of catacomb types in this case, as in the case of the orans, agrees with the early date of the sarcophagus (cf. Mitius, *Jonas auf den Denkmälern der altchr. Kunst*, p. 54).

Besides the sea divinity at the end of the decoration, which may be compared, as a terminal figure, with a pastoral god figured in Garrucci, 370, 2, there is another pagan survival in the scene which is very amusing.

FIGURE 5.—SARCOPHAGUS-COVER IN PALAZZO RONDANINI,
ROME
(Garrucci, 397, 12)

Marucchi says that the sheep on the top of Jonah's arbor are those of the Good Shepherd. If they belong to him, they have surely wandered far and are not to be counted among the ninety-and-nine. It is easier to believe them the sheep of another shepherd, viz. the beautiful youth of Latmos, Endymion. It is well known that the Endymion type was used by Christian artisans in carving the sleeping Jonah. A Christian medal published by De Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. crist.* 1869, p. 42) reproduces Endymion bodily in the figure of a young shepherd. It may have been through the sleeping shepherds that the type came to the aid of artisans who had to make sleeping Jonahs. Grousset (*Les Sarcophages Chrétiens*, no. 61) cites a cover fragment in house No. 17 in the Vicolo del Carmine, Rome (whose Christian origin, however, cannot be proved), which has a young shepherd dressed in exomis, sleeping, with right arm thrown back above his head, quite in the manner of our Jonah. (Compare the reclining shepherd in G. 394, 6.) But a direct imitation has plenty of evidence for it, as one may see by comparing Jonah and the sheep with the Endymion in Robert (*Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, pl. xviii, Louvre; detail in Fig. 6), where the sheep are similarly reclining on a ledge above the shepherd; a closer resemblance to the attitude of Jonah's sheep is seen in that of Endymion's sheep in pls. xvii, 65; xv, 58; xiv, 49, 50, 51. Our artist followed his model only too faithfully, and if we imagine a Diana stepping from her chariot in the room of the sea monster, the old scene stands before us, with only the gourd vine to obscure it. One cannot resist the impression that our artist was a pagan or a very dubious Christian and only imperfectly understood the scene he had to carve here. Jonah was an Endymion to him, and an Endymion must have sheep, the gourd vine notwithstanding.

Marucchi's interpretation of the scenes on the sarcophagus is suggested by the fishermen and baptism, which two scenes he groups together. He compares them to

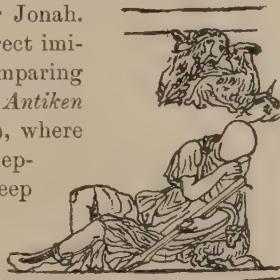


FIGURE 6.—SLEEPING ENDYMION ON
A SARCOPHAGUS IN THE LOUVRE
(Robert, III, pl. xviii)

the well-known fresco in the Sacrament Chapels in S. Callisto, where similar scenes are united (G. 7, 2). This fresco shows Christ as a naked boy, standing in the water, with the Baptist standing on the bank beside him. Above Christ's head descends the dove. On the opposite bank sits a fisherman, who draws a fish from the same water. Christ's baptism is here interpreted to be a symbol of the rite in general, and the fisherman is the apostolic "fisher of men," who draws the convert from the baptismal waters. Marucchi sees an intention to convey such a meaning in the juxtaposition of the fishermen and the baptism on our sarcophagus. A more natural reason for grouping these two water scenes at this end of the sarcophagus is to form a pendant to the Jonah story at the other end, as was pointed out before. Moreover, the two scenes are not united here, as in the fresco, but divided off by a tree. To prove the connection between them, it must be shown at least that the inspiration of the decoration as a whole is allegorical.

This Marucchi tries to do. He reads in the scenes from right to left an allegorical exposition of the spiritual life of the defunct, the key to which lies in the three figures to the left of the baptism, the Good Shepherd, reading figure, and orans. He compares this series of figures with those on a sarcophagus coming from the Via Salaria, now in the Lateran, ascribed by De Rossi to the second century (*Bull. di Arch. crist.* 1891, p. 55 ff.). Here we see the deceased husband and wife, with attendants, seated facing one another. The husband is dressed in a philosopher's pallium and reads a scroll. Between them, forming the central group, stand the Good Shepherd and an orans. De Rossi interprets the orans and Good Shepherd as symbols of the church in heaven and of its head, who comfort the departed pair with the joys of paradise. (A similar conception may have inspired the scene on a Gallic sarcophagus, G. 370, 2.) Marucchi thinks the same notion is to be read in the three figures on our sarcophagus: the orans signifying the church in heaven, by an expansion of its original meaning; the sitting figure, the defunct reading the Scriptures; and the Good Shepherd, the spouse of the church, Christ. The *coniugium* or *συζύγια* between Christ and His church is a very old patristic concept.

There is a difficulty in the way of this explanation in the shape of the unfinished face of the orans, which Marucchi seems to me to avoid rather than to remove. He admits that the natural reason for the unfinished state of the two heads is that they were to be completed as portraits of the occupants of the sarcophagus. But the sarcophagus is only large enough for one. "Hence," to translate his own words, "this peculiarity of the unfinished face may be well explained by the common habit of leaving unfinished in the course of the work the two central figures, which then often remained unfinished even after the purchase of the monument, by reason of carelessness or for the sake of economy." He concludes then that the orans was to be finished merely as an "ideal type." The sitting figure was to represent the defunct Christian, but we are not allowed the natural conclusion that his features were to be reproduced, which would be tantamount to a confession that his head was left unfinished to be completed as a portrait, which is a very good reason, while that of the orans was left blocked out to be completed as an "ideal type," or for no reason at all.

To continue with Marucchi's allegory. The orans, according to the usual interpretation, taken in relation with the sitting figure of the defunct, would represent the soul

in paradise. But the Good Shepherd on the other side of the sitting figure shows that a more lofty concept was in the mind of the artist. The three figures are to be taken together, and Marucchi sees in the group the church of the saints and its Head, the Good Shepherd, communion with whom is the reward of the deceased. Such reward he has merited by obedience to the divine law contained in Holy Scripture, typified by the scroll. This is the nucleus of the allegory. It is begun on the right by the fishing scene and baptism, continued on the left by the story of Jonah, the symbol of resurrection and eternal life. The dead believer entered into the church, converted by the words of the "fisher of men" and his successors, and purified by the waters of baptism. "After death," says Marucchi, "the defunct was to arise again to new life, and the Jonah scene alludes to the resurrection. For his virtues he has been received by the Heavenly Pastor, together with the elect; and this last part is symbolized by the central group of the orans united with the Good Shepherd." Even the sea god has to bear his part, "for," says Marucchi, "he holds in his hand a trident and raises it aloft like an emblem. Now we learn from many examples that the trident was a form of disguised cross, and that it was used in ancient Christian art at a time when it was not yet customary to represent openly the real form of the cross. Around a trident is twined the dolphin, or *piscis salvator*, in a fresco of the cemetery of Callisto; and the trident between fish, with the same significance of cross, is seen carved on some marbles of the cemetery of Domitilla. It will not, then, seem improper to believe that the sculptor of our sarcophagus, who had a special predilection for the symbolical in all his figures, wished to express a concept in this last one also, that is, that upon the stormy sea of life and superior to death, indicated by the waters which engulfed Jonah, shines, as the sign of immortal hope, the cross of Christ."

This interpretation rests upon the three figures before mentioned,—orans, reading figure, and Good Shepherd. The significance attached to them by Marucchi is beset with difficulties, even if we waive the unfinished faces. In the first place, the three figures do not form a group, as the Good Shepherd is shut off from the other two by the usual tree. Second, the central group is not composed of all three, but of orans and reading figure alone. Lastly, the dove at the orans' feet, which seems to have escaped Marucchi, makes this interpretation quite impossible. For we have seen how closely our artist copied the epitaph type of orans and dove, and he must have meant to use it as it was used in the catacombs, to represent the defunct *in pace*. It is useless to try to expand a figure whose meaning is already stereotyped and given an individual application by the dove into an ideal "church." Lastly, the unfinished face remains as an insuperable objection to interpreting this orans as a figure of the church in heaven or the soul of the sitting figure, or anything else than an individual.

This circumstance is attributed by Marucchi to the "common habit of leaving unfinished in the course of the work the two central figures, which then often remained unfinished even after the purchase of the monument by reason of carelessness or for the sake of economy." The "habit" to which he alludes was hardly "common" save when portraits had to be done, as in the case of the figure in the centre of the sarcophagus or the bust or busts in the *imago clipeata*. If saving of labor were the only reason, there would be a more general lack of finish around the centre. But when the busts

in the *imago clypeata* are left blocked out, the rest of the decoration is usually complete. On the five Lateran sarcophagi which I have mentioned, the orans which stands for the defunct in the centre of the sarcophagus is left undone in distinction to all the other figures. And on our sarcophagus the smallest detail has been looked to, up to the faces of the central figures. This exception of the faces from all the rest must have been premeditated, the figures occupy the position accorded to portraits, and there is every reason to suppose that they were meant for portraits.

But the sarcophagus is a single one. Perhaps, then, the unfinished faces are a device of the prudent sarcophagus dealer, who thus prepared himself for a male or female customer. The extra head would then have been finished as husband or wife, as the case might be, or some other member of the deceased's family. Or a purely decorative type could have been made of them, both figures being so used. For the sitting figure, compare Meader, 'Symmetry in Christian Relief Sculpture,' *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1900, p. 137. For the orans, balanced with the Good Shepherd as a terminal figure, compare G. 370, 4. If the orans were thus used decoratively or to represent a living relative of the defunct, we must suppose that the dove was introduced without meaning and by force of habit. But the sculptor has followed so closely the catacomb-epitaph figure by inserting the dove and in other ways that it seems to me most probable that he chose the orans to mark the occupant of the sarcophagus, intending to finish the reading figure as the husband, brother, or other relative, who should have purchased the monument. There are plenty of instances of this figuring



FIGURE 7.—EPITAPH IN LATERAN, ROME
(Garrucci, 485, 15)

of relatives along with the deceased, one of which may be seen in Fig. 7 (G. 485, 15), where Crescentina, the orans, and Januarius, who is accompanied by doves, are evidently in heaven, while the third figure represents Flavius Aquilinus, who, as the inscription tells us, provided this work of art in his lifetime.

It was very natural for the uninventive fourth century to adopt the old philosophical conversation as a portrait group. We see that it was customary to represent the defunct as a philosopher as early as the Via Salaria sarcophagus. The high regard for the philosopher's pallium, reflected everywhere in Christian art and in the fathers, may have had something to do with it. But the Christians borrowed the pagan scene bodily too, and probably not as a portrait group, as we may see on the Pisan sarcophagus which I have mentioned (G. 370, 3). It is a strigillated sarcophagus with centre and end panels. In the centre we see the reader and a woman listening, in the right end panel a man in pallium, with a serinium beside him, in the other end panel his wife, holding up one hand in attitude of prayer. At her feet, to the left, partly concealed by her dress, quite in the manner of our sarcophagus, is what is left of a bird. Garrucci, entrenched behind the fact that the head and neck are gone and the tail not to be seen, thinks that it might be a peacock. It is more likely that it was a dove, as in the

case of our orans. In another sarcophagus, G. 370, 4, the philosopher and listener occupy the centre panel again, with orans and Good Shepherd at the ends. The position in the centre and the strongly individualized face of the man suggest that here we have a group of man and wife. All these scenes are in the pagan manner. In other sarcophagi we see that the scene has been Christianized. Thus in G. 371, 2 (Ravenna), to the reading figure and the listening woman are added three figures, a man, a woman, and a child carrying a box, a purely domestic group, to which the reader and listener seem also to belong. Here, too, the man is dressed in pallium and the woman raises one hand in prayer, a gesture which curiously illustrates the tenacity of pagan tradition. All these sarcophagi are shown by such details and the general character of the decoration (strigils, shepherd scenes, etc.) to be earlier than ours. A real orans does not appear with the philosopher until later, in a sarcophagus in the Lateran (G. 371, 1). The listening woman here has both hands raised. Whether this scene is a purely ideal or allegorical "conversation," or was meant to represent a family, is a question. At any rate it shows a group which our sculptor might have copied, and the other examples prove that the scene was already used to figure the married pair. From this hasty comparison we may see how the portrait group on our sarcophagus makes it likely that some at least of the similar groups on others may be also domestic groups. They have hitherto been interpreted with various allegorical meanings, ideal representations of Scripture reading, prophet and church, etc.

Marucchi's remarks about the marine genius and his trident are perfectly gratuitous. One might as well say that because the vine is sometimes a Christian symbol, the grapes in Dionysos' hair have a Christian meaning. The allegory rests on an assumption that is not at all justified, for the *congetto elevato* which he ascribes to the sculptor is in itself an improbable thing. Meader, in the article cited above, has shown that the scenes almost never have any inner connection with each other, and are certainly not to be regarded as so many letters in a symbolical alphabet with which the craftsmen of Rome wrote "sermons in stone." They were selected from an artistic point of view and chiefly with reference to symmetry.

But what our monument has lost in allegory it has gained in other ways by a reëxamination. It is best understood as a specimen of the transition from the third-century reliefs to the regular fourth-century type. There are many points of resemblance: the pagan motives, the Good Shepherd, the central group are in the third-century manner. But the spirit is different. The old scenes approach the pagan because they were chosen in pagan shops, and are Christian only in so far as they accord with Christian ideas or do not offend Christian prejudices. Such are the shepherds, fishermen, vines, and vintages which we find in early sarcophagi. Here we have the product of the early fourth century, when Christianity spread faster than the understanding of its meaning. Unaccustomed hands were called to carve new and strange figures; catacomb types had to be brought into use, as we saw in the furled sail on Jonah's ship and the orans with the dove; the shepherdless sheep on Jonah's arbor remain to testify to the questionable orthodoxy of our sculptor. On the other hand, the separation of the scenes is commenced and a new departure is taken in introducing the baptism of Christ, which is conceived in the form it thereafter takes on the sar-

cophagi, and not after the manner of the catacomb paintings. Besides the minor points of interest, the sarcophagus is very helpful in two respects. The portrait group in the centre affords us a new basis on which to study other such imitations of the old philosopher and listening woman of pagan art. Second, we have in the orans of our sarcophagus a proof that the orans was commonly used as a portrait of the defunct. It is not by any means the only one, but it is perhaps the least disputable. Any one who has gone through the numberless interpretations of the figure will welcome a clear case like this for a landmark in the maze of conflicting and unsatisfactory evidence. It serves at least to qualify the sweeping dictum of Wilpert that the orans figures are never portraits, except in the sense of "ideal portraits," but "Bilder der in der Seligkeit gedachten Seelen der Verstorbenen, welche für die Hinterbliebenen beten, damit auch diese das gleiche Ziel erlangen" (*Ein Cyklus christologischer Gemälde*, pp. 30 ff.).

CHARLES R. MOREY.

columelle

librum moderata columelle nei nustice cepunus de-
citu hontonum. liber. xi. ex. l. h. cipit liber. xii.

Cleuelis eutustalis tam hygenuec nocturnae quæ
quidationis adulgeset. Complu rauum raudiorum et perpe-
trualis p. sermonibus hygatius etudit mihi cultar hop-
topui p. op. aut. operatione componit. p. me tam pallebat he-
tubras p. cum p. dicti matris capimini legib; implicare p. eo
tibi publi filium p. manet. expectati ueppicationis n. p. g. t.
negare non justantib; paciujus mox p. conliberat q. d. n. ad g. d.
op. ut hollesq; curia p. b. t. et. i. l. i. c. i. s. officiis quicquid p. p.
morti p. r. a. c. lib. uidebas. aliquatruj desetatis. quotam
et. p. r. m. l. d. q. d. q. n. i. n. a. u. g. a. t. a. l. i. s. p. f. a. g. t. a. b. a. t. m. u. n. i. g. u. m.
quid lam q. i. d. f. u. m. a. u. h. a. u. l. o. m. n. u. a. c. q. i. Et hoc undecima p. p.
participationis m. n. o. r. a. c. o. d. i. D E V I L I C O .

Viliciu p. fondo familiari p. pom. d. u. d. t. a. t. i. p. n. p. m. n. e. t. u. l. o. m. e.
Na. p. p. u. t. i. a. p. c. a. p. u. c. a. l. a. d. c. a. p. u. n. i. n. t. u. t. i. p. b. i. e. q. i. n. a. l. t. e. q. i. n. a. l. n. o. n.
d. u. m. n. o. n. t. o. p. o. f. i. a. p. u. p. u. i. s. a. l. t. e. q. i. n. a. l. i. a. l. a. m. n. p. e. c. h. t. a. l. t. q. u. h. e. n. c.
a. d. u. l. g. e. n. t. i. u. n. d. l. e. g. o. t. o. n. p. d. i. c. t. u. l. l. u. p. a. c. t. p. i. g. r. u. m. a. d. i. a. h. a. t.
h. a. t. p. i. g. h. i. n. e. o. f. f. i. c. i. o. q. t. a. p. a. f. f. i. m. a. p. o. t. h. i. q. i. a. t. c. q. u. g. i. n. t. a. u. p. q. u. h. i.
p. d. e. a. g. e. r. i. n. n. i. a. c. q. u. n. t. u. p. r. a. h. i. t. q. u. e. n. t. p. o. r. t. a. c. o. p. o. p. u. r.
u. t. e. a. p. t. e. a. u. l. o. d. i. p. a. n. g. i. m. u. n. e. p. u. b. a. s. a. g. u. c. o. l. e. U. n. p. p. a. r. a. c. t. d. q. t. a.
n. a. b. i. t. a. p. h. u. i. c. e. n. g. o. t. o. f. i. c. o. p. o. j. e. c. t. i. d. o. n. p. e. b. r. e. s. t. r. i. m. p. o. b. u. s. t. o. p.
m. u. s. q. i. c. t. d. o. c. k. a. t. p. u. b. l. e. c. t. o. s. a. c. t. p. e. c. m. m. o. d. e. p. a. c. i. a. t. q. e. p. a. p. i. t.
s. i. q. u. d. e. n. h. i. l. p. i. c. t. p. i. n. e. t. e. n. t. p. l. o. d. o. c. t. a. p. a. t. t. d. i. p. p. r. e. t. a. t. q. u.
u. l. i. c. i. m. a. g. i. t. q. u. m. e. o. p. e. p. a. p. i. o. r. u. n. d. p. a. p. u. l. u. m. C. u. m. s. t. a. d. e. p. a.
t. r. e. p. a. m. l. i. t. p. r. i. g. t. i. m. o. q. u. i. p. d. e. m. p. l. u. c. t. o. d. r. e. q. u. t. m. a. l. e. a. g. r. a. p. i.

wv.

cum domino quidam uicarius docebat. Ita que Ino et conomico Xenophon
 et qui est maioris auctoritate latine sermonem tradidit. Et regius ille pro
 madibus adiunctis progetur auctoritate uerum ne quis per pamphletum
 dignosq[ue]t. m[od]e capi uicium tanquam rabia oratione Instruere
 perfundat. Ego vero h[ab]uit ipse Instruere et h[ab]ui quinque absente hi
 n[on] solum locu[m] substatim ut in capitulo meo diligenter succedit. Ea
 quod ergo sente debet. Sed hic nimis propria et tunc quidam temporum
 sit quidam remadibus negabat quidamque puritate suu[n]tate. Non
 et memores ignorantie itaq[ue] cuiusque res comprehendenda est. quip
 pe aliqua sit opera certammodo uirum tanquam p[ro]mouendi onus
 portandoq[ue] alia sociata uirib[us] statuta ut possibidi agendi que ut
 reges et praetorates esse videntur. Si nullus minus uiru[m] plus ast[ra]t admire
 tam rite putacionibus instruuntur; q[ui] uincit. Plurima etiam res
 tra pollet in aliis quibus ut in partione pecuniarum atque suis de medi
 ena. quopu[m] omnium officioru[m] uicarius sediam dico prius quam
 bonas et non poscas nisi p[re]dicta p[re]dicta ut in uno q[uod] corpori
 sibi queat p[ro]prio facta. uel; enim patitur p[re]prehendendi p[ec]catorum
 p[re]dictorum p[ec]cata sua libenter igitur eadem loquuntur docendi sept
 putacionis uicarius qua p[re]dictum est illius. aut p[ro]batur exhauste pacie dicit
 erit. primilla recto expeditio p[re]dicta dñe describitur antequa quarto
 minuti compluimus p[re]dicta magna et diffusa matrua et per
 t[er]que p[re]dictum super corripere ut de numero comprehendamus quan
 tatis admirari inquit q[uod] p[ro]prio regi p[re]dictum in bonu[m] decendo rupe
 d[omi]nus et regius astra minuti utre necessaria p[re]dictorum
 emperat[ur]. agricultura p[ro]prio diu[er]sulorum uel; p[re]ceptorum habentorum
 p[ro]prio magnitudo p[er]sequitur et quanta vel d[omi]nus et p[re]dicti p[ar]te

Xenophon.
 Cato.
 Scymnachus.
 Somes.

rest multa

THE TEXT OF COLUMELLA

INCLUDING A COLLATION OF CODEX SANGERMANENSIS, FOR LIB. XI, AND A COLLATION
OF CODEX AMBROSLANUS, FOR THE FIRST PART OF THAT BOOK¹

[PLATE XVIII]

THE text of Columella is transmitted through two ninth-century manuscripts,— Codex Sangermanensis, now in St. Petersburg (Cod. 207, = S), and Codex Ambrosianus L. 85 s., in Milan (= A). The later manuscripts (R) seem to be all copied (directly or indirectly) from A, which has been in Italy since it was brought thither by Poggio (1380–1459).

S is one of the manuscripts taken from Paris to St. Petersburg by Dubrowsky in 1800. These manuscripts, in general, came from the monastery of St. Germain des Prés, whither they were brought from Corbie. S itself is written in a French hand of the latter half of the ninth century; and an illuminated letter on fol. 1, *recto*, is also French, of the same period. Moreover, in the eleventh-century catalogue of the Corbie manuscripts (Berlin, Phili., 1865; cf. *Verzeichniss der von der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin erworbenen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillips*, Berlin, 1892, p. 435, no. 195) the manuscript is mentioned,—“Iunii Columelle liber.”² Perhaps S was written in Corbie itself. It is possible that other manuscripts were copied from this, which remained in France until the end of the eighteenth century.

A, as Professor Traube has ascertained, was in all probability written at Fulda. (1) It is written in a German Insular hand characteristic of Fulda. (2) In the sixteenth-century catalogue of Fulda manuscripts, which apparently is based on older

¹ My thanks are due to my friend and teacher, Professor Ludwig Traube, for suggesting this work, and for advice and assistance; also to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, the Munich Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek, and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, for courtesies extended.

The literature on the subject (in which will be found references to older publications) is:

- J. Häussner, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des L. Iunius Moderatus Columella (de Re Rustica) mit einer Kritischen Ausgabe des X. Buches*. Als Beilage zu dem Programm des Grossherzoglichen Gymnasiums zu Karlsruhe für das Schuljahr 1888–89.
Valdemar Langlet, ‘Ad Columellae Codicem Sangermanensem qui vocatur,’ in *Eranos, Acta philologica Suecana*, vol. I (1896), Fasc. 2.
L. Iuni Moderati Columellae opera quae exstant recensuit Vilelmus Lundström. *Fasciculus primus librum de arboribus continens*. Upsaliae-Lipsiae, 1897.
Id. *Fasciculus Sextus rei rusticae librum decimum continens*. 1902. (In *Collectio Scriptorum Veterum Upsaliensis*.)
J. P. Postgate, ‘The Moscow Manuscript of Columella,’ in *Class. Review*, vol. XVII (1903), p. 47.
Also, the reviews of Lundström’s edition, in *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift* for 1898, p. 334; for 1903, p. 422; *Wochenschrift für klass. Philologie* for 1898, p. 982; and for 1903, p. 1139 (the last-named review contains a brief summary of the currently accepted estimate of the manuscripts, from which the present article differs in some points).

² G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, 79, no. 204. Also in a Corbie catalogue, written about 1200 A.D. (Becker, 136, no. 335), is the entry, “Iunii Moderati rei rustice.”

catalogues (Franz Falk, *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis und Bibliotheca laureshamensis. Mit einer Beilage: Der Fuldaer Handschriften-Katalog aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Neu herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Carl Scherer.* Leipzig, 1902; p. 106, IX, 17), is the entry: "Columella de re rustica. lib. 13. 28. or. 4." (3) Poggio brought a number of other manuscripts from Germany to Italy, among them the Ammianus from Fulda. (No other manuscript of Columella is mentioned in the mediaeval catalogues.)

No edition of all of Columella, based on a new collation of S and A, has ever been published, although Lundström has recently done this for *de R. R. Lib. X* and *Lib. de Arboribus*. The complete edition which Lundström promised is progressing slowly. Accordingly, during my stay in Munich in the summer of 1903, Professor Traube suggested the desirability of taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the presence in that city of the Codex Sangermanensis (sent thither from St. Petersburg for the use of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*), in order to collate one book, and, by means of photographs of a portion of that book in A, to ascertain, if possible, the relation between S and A.

In the following pages I give my collation of S for Book XI, and of A for the first part of that book:¹

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)		CODEX AMBROSLANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 533		
I, § 1	1. iunii moderati columellae liber undecimus de re rustica	A, F. 195 ^v begins. S, F. 107 ^v , col. 2 begins. Iūni moderati columelle rei rustice cepu- rieus de cultu hortorum. liber xi · expl · incipit liber · xii · A
	Ieruditonis adolescens studiosorum quum praedictam	l. iuni moderati columel e rei rusticę cepu- ricus de cultu hortorum liber undeci- mus explicit incipit liber duodecimus (red rustic capitals) S eruditonis (-nus corr. to -nis) S adulescens AS studiorū S cum pdictā A (and always cū or cum, not quum) cū predictā S (and always cū or cum, not quum; ae frequently for e, and the reverse)

¹ I included the partial collation of A, in order to furnish a basis for comparison, and was enabled to do so by some photographs which Dr. O. Hey, of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, who was in Milan at that time working on A, kindly had made for me. I have not indicated the (very frequent) correction in S of e to ē, made in darker ink. The corrections in darker ink, in general, seem to be of the same period as the text. I used the Turin reprint of Schneider's edition (originally *Scriptorum Rei Rusticæ Veterum Tomus Secundus L. Iunium Moderatum Columellam tenens . . . corrixit, atque . . . illustravit Io. Gottlob Schneider, Saxo. Lipsiae, . . . MDCCXCIII*).

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 533		
I, § 2	nostrae collibusset aggredior olitoris subtexerem uillici officiis executus ea	nre A (<i>and frequently ae and e confused</i>) conlibisset A conlibisset (^y <i>darker</i>) S adgre dior S holitoris AS (<i>and thus regularly</i>) subtexera A uilicis AS (<i>thus always, uilic- not uillic-</i>) offici ⁱ (ⁱ <i>darker</i>) S exsecutus A ea A
PAGE 534		
§ 3 inc.	simili [idem] tradidi (before uillicum) tirunculum contemnunt iuuenes opera ruris adolescentia negligentem aetas anno trigesimo ab anno trigesimo sexagesimum uitia oportebit et doceat discitur discipulum	similis S om. AS & (<i>deleted</i>) tradidi S de uilico (<i>rustic capitals</i>) AS trunculū (^y <i>darker</i>) S stempnunt A om. AS operaris (^m <i>somewhat darker</i>) S adulescentia neglegentē S estas A annis quinque & tri (F. 108 ^r begins, S) ginta AS & triginta A sexagensem (N del. in S) & quintum AS uita A, uita ⁱ (ⁱ <i>darker</i>) S oport & AS doceat A dī A, dicitur S discipulum (<i>left hasta of first V seems erased</i>) S A F. 196 ^r begins, cum domino
PAGE 535		
§ 5	latino sermoni (vir) Ischomachus tanquam fabrum absente is	latine (<i>corr. to latino in darker ink</i>) sermone S om. AS seomachus AS tamquā A fabra (<i>corr. to fabrū</i>) A absentem S om. AS

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 535		
I. § 5	Ischomachus	seomachus AS
§ 6	nostrae . . . qualitas (§ 8 inc.)	A, <i>later hand in margin</i> , deest multū om. AS
PAGE 536		
§ 8	que aliqua	q; alia A
	fodiendi	quāe aliquam (<i>corr. to que aliqua</i>) S
	uineti	fōiendi A
	atque	ueneti (<i>corr. to uineti in darker ink</i>) S
§ 9	prius dixi	& que S
	unoquoque	dixi prius AS
	reprehendisse	ino ^{unq.} ('darker) S
	loquor	reprehendi AS
	futurus figulus	loqua <small>t</small> A, loquat <small>r</small> (t del., m darker) S
	faber	futurus ^{figillus} A
	haud	fauer (<i>corr. to faber in darker ink</i>) S
		haut <small>d</small> A, haut S
PAGE 537		
§ 10	diffusa	diffussa S
	partesque	partesquae (, darker) S
	antistites	antēstites S
	fecerit	ceperit S
	immensam	A, F. 196 ^r <i>begins</i> , inmensā, inmensā S
§ 11	negligi	neglegi A
	sapientiae	scientiae S
	contrario	contraria A
	obmutescendi	ommutescendi A
§ 12	gloria est	+ gloria A
	intelligo	intellego AS
	plurimos	plurim; A
	reperiatur	S, F. 108 ^r <i>begins</i> , ut universē reperiatur A
PAGE 538		
§ 13	foeni	faeni S
	complurium	cum plurium S
	agrestium	aḡestium A
	etiam	em. A
	uitet	bit & S
	somniculosum	s̄omniculoso A, somniculoso S
	effugunt	officiunt AS

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 538		
I, § 14	Tum venereis quidquam	dum A ueneriis AS quicquā AS A, <i>F. 197^r begins</i> , p temporibus
PAGE 539		
§ 15	aggredi nec Ischomachus	adgredi AS <i>om.</i> A scomachus A comachus (<i>corr. to scomachus in darker ink</i>) S
§ 16	inquit agilem negligentem affert tricandi peruenit is	inquiq (<i>corr. to inquit in darker ink</i>) S agilē atque AS neglegentem S adfert AS tricandi (<i>later hand in margin, c'meretricādi</i>) puenitis (<i>with a long drawn through the second in darker ink</i>) S
§ 17	vix proelium tanquam (<i>twice</i>) variisque laborantes auferat	<i>om.</i> A p̄ lium A, pre(<i>ae?</i>)lium S tamquā (<i>twice</i>) A variisque S laborantis S autferat (<i>with the first T deleted in darker ink</i>) S
§ 18	ut ab ipso relinquat omnes e grege nullam tum ille diligens opilio: nec [suo] delitescat sauciatus noxam ceperit languidior est, in valetudina- rium	ab ipso A relinquerit S omnis S egre nullā S tunc S illo A diligēs (ⁿ <i>darker</i>) S oppi mo A, ? corr. to opilio nec S suo AS dilitescat A, delitiscat S sauciatis S noxiū A, noxiā S coeperit A languidiorē ut ualetudinari A, languidiorem ut ualetudinari S A, <i>F. 197^v begins</i> , eorū similiter
§ 19	frugalitatis	fragilitas A

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 539 I, § 19	coenet	S, <i>F. 109^r begins</i> , sacris diebus cenet A, c̄enet (, <i>perhaps darker</i>) S
PAGE 541 § 20	festosque aliis comparet huiusmodi	festos ^a (*darker) S alis S comparat A eiusmodi A; eius eius modi S
§ 21	quam sagatis hiemalis dies singulis impunitatis spem	om. A sagaceis AS hiemalib; diebus AS omnibus AS inpunitatis AS sepem (<i>first E deleted in darker ink</i>) S
PAGE 542 § 22	quotidie citare innexa: tum munita vinxerit resolvat aruspicem	quotidie citare A; quotidie ^b citare S nexatum A; nexa · tū (*darker) S munita (corr. from munda in darker ink) S uinixerit S soluat AS haruspicem AS
§ 23	emendae delinquendi ad	emendeñde A deliquendi S at S
§ 24	quam unquam [eum]	A, <i>F. 198^r begins</i> , coegerit necessitas om. A umquam AS om. AS
PAGE 543 § 25	ubi [aeris] numeratio exigitur, res istud fugiendum temperet magis eius severitatem saevitiam si maluerit vel nequissimi . . . fecisse quid- quid (§ 28)	ubi non est numeratio res AS studiū A fugient dū (<i>T deleted in darker ink</i>) S temperate A; temperat (corr. to temperat in darker ink) S ē magis A; eius S s̄euritatē A s̄euitiā A; seuitiā S maluerit (^a Car. Min.) A om. AS; in S, lacuna is indicated by an apparently later oblique line

		ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 544			
I, § 28	nam facti imprudentia negligentia amissi		ñ A, num S facti uel imprudentia AS neglegentia AS amisi A
§ 29	improvidus vetustissimus Hesiodus		inprouidus AS uetussim; A ^h esiodus A
	Aἰεὶ δὲ μέμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄταισι παλαίει		S, F. 109 ^v begins, hoc uersu ΑΙΕΙΑΝΒΟΛΙΕΡΤΟCANΗΡΑΤΑΑΙCITMAIE A (later hand in margin, αἰεὶ δὲ μέμβολιεργὺ ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει), ΑΙΕΙΔΑΝ ΒΟΛΙΕΡΤΟ CANEPATA AICITPAAIE S
PAGE 545			
§ 30	totum perisse nisi momentis fieri quidque oporteat sequuntur tempora		totam S perisse nisi A, perisse ni S ^m omentis (^m darker) S om. A quitq; A oport& AS secuntur A, sequitur S temporae A
§ 31	officii ratione et Virgilius tentantur contra quam infitior in iis astrologos		A, F. 198 ^v begins, Quare necessaria officium A, officiū S rationem (R deleted in darker ink) S om. A uergiliius AS temptantur A otra aquam A infitior ñ in his A, inficiar in his S astrologüs A
§ 32	quantum vis utile continget persuasum		quāuis AS inutile A contingit AS persuaserit A
PAGE 546			
	specta sideris satis		suscepta AS sēderis A ^s sitis A
Cap. II	Itaque nunquam ne		Itēque S ñnumquā A, nonnūquā S n ^e A

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 546		
Cap. II	discedamus qui	desināmus A, desistamus S qd AS
PAGE 547		
§ 2	aliquid consumpta	aliquit ^d A osumpta A
§ 3	Romani auspicari inchoabit exegi quodque	pmani A, promani (<i>P del. in darker ink</i>) S rusticari AS incohabit S exequi q̄q A, exsequi quoque S
	immature <i>at end of § 3, after tarde</i>	A, <i>F. 199^r begins</i> , opus nimiū inmature A dies celestes A, dies caelestes S (<i>in red rustic capitals and uncials</i>)
§ 4	tempestas incerta Febr. sol auster cum xv Cal. Febr. Febr. Fidicula vespere	tempes ^{ts} incerta A ss sol A, s̄p̄ (<i>corr. to ss in darker ink</i>) sol S aster ē A xii k̄ ss (<i>ss darker, corr. from spb?</i>) S ss fidicula uesper A, sep (<i>corr. to ss in darker ink</i>) fidicula uesp S
§ 5	ix Calen. Febr. vi Calend. Febr. nonnunquam significatur. hiems bipertitur. v Calend. Febr. Africus	viii k̄ se p̄ S vi k̄ se p̄ S nonnumquam AS significat hiemps biperitur AS v k̄ se p̄ S frigus A S, <i>F. 110^r begins</i> , hiemat pluuius dies occidere significat AS
	occidit quae sunt oecasus	qui AS om. AS oecasum A
§ 6	semestrium annotatis brumam Favonii vineae quidquid	semimenstruum A, semestrū S adnotatis AS bruma A fauoni AS ut uineae S quicquit A
PAGE 549		
§ 7	siccantur attenuari	sectunt ^t A, secuntur S attenuri (<i>V corr. to A?</i>) A, ap (<i>P corr. from T in darker ink</i>) te (<i>after E one letter erased</i>) S
	<i>after agrum</i>	δ above line A

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)		CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 549		
II, § 7	tum	cū S A (<i>at bottom of page, later hand</i>) n̄ occupi eni (sic) seg&es emundari acerui uirgarum
	locis	A, F. 199 ^v begins, tepenti iam die
	defendenda	longis A
	foeni	defenda A
§ 8	ueruagendi	feni A, faeni S
	post . . . arandi	ueru agiendi AS
	proscinditur	om. AS
§ 9	eodemque	p̄ scindit A
	sarrienda	eodē A
PAGE 550		'ariende A, sariende S
	vernaculum	uennaculum AS
	sarratio	sartio AS
§ 10	quatuor	quattuor AS
	creverit	creuit AS
	sarruisse	saruisse AS
	seremus	serenus A
§ 11	primum	prime A, primi S
	afferunt	adferunt AS
	cerasorum	cerasiorum AS
	tuberum	tuburū S
	amygdalarum	amygdalarū AS
	trigesimam	trigesima A
PAGE 551		
	sic caesa	sicca ēē A, siccaessa (<i>corr. to siccaesa</i>) S
§ 12	oleagineas	oleaginaeas S
	lugubrationem	lugubrationē A
	confidere totidemque	con F. 200 ^r begins, figeret totidemq; A
PAGE 552		
	confidere	conficer& ('erased) S
	antelucanam	antilucanam A
§ 13	per quadrata debet pedum	debet per quadratos pedes A, deb& per quadratos pedes S
	haec	hoc AS
	v et xx	S, F. 110 ^v begins, sexagenum pedum
	aeque	z&uiginti .v. A
	abies atque populus	æq; (<i>above the line</i>) A
	populus	atq. abies populis A
		populis (<i>corr. to populus in darker ink</i>) S

PL. S. ENEDID. BOOK XI.

COPPIA AMBR. STANUS A. AND COTTEX SANGERMANENSIS S.

PAGE 532

- II. § 13 cypressus
ad
mitem pedum XL
hae
§ 14 foetus
quadrupedia

PAGE 533

- Eurinus
Corus
nonnunquam
§ 15 VII Idus Febr.
sidus
Favonii
Before III
Feb.
foenum submittuntur
§ 16 frigora omissae
palandae
alligandae
postea

PAGE 534

- usiem
peragenda
finienda est. quorum
certa
non possunt
§ 17 Decembri
Januario
est iam
ita ut
dipondii
semassis
bipalium
cui

PAGE 535

- § 18 oleribus
vel
sesquipedalis
digerenda
arboribus

- cypressus A
in AS
at ^{pedem} quadriginta ^{pedem} hae ^{pedem} ^{pedem} A
eae AS
fetus S
quadri pedia S
- curin' A
chorus AS
nonnumquam A
VII · idus septēbr S
fidis A. fidus S
fauoni AS
in Ambr. 7 + (later?)
om. S ..
fenū sūmittuntur S
frigore omissio A
plande A
alliganda (*corr. to alligandæ in darker ink*) S
pteæ S
- usiem A. usiem S
peragenda + A, peragenda est S
figenda quo rum A. fienda quo rū S
ceria (*first C erased?*) A
possunt A
decembri^o (^{° darker}) S
ianurio A
etiam A. &iam S
id at A. ita tem S
A. F. 200^r begins, dupundius, dupondius S
semis A
uipedaliū A. ui (*corr. to bi in darker ink*)
pedalium S
que A. que S
- holeribus AS (*to always*)
om. AS
sexquipedalis A
degerenda A
oleribus A

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 555		
II, § 18	inspergenda vitiaria [quam recentissimus] curio- sissime	inspargenda AS uinearia AS quā curiosissime AS
§ 19	Populos fraxinos nunc est aut ante nunc (<i>second</i>) radiculas Sarmenta quoque vineis quidquid	populus AS fraxinus AS nun AS est ante autē AS nun A radices AS sarmen te uineis A, sarmentae uineis S quicquid A
PAGE 556		
	iacens molientem	facile AS molliem A, molli en ^{te} (<i>first L deleted, and written in darker ink</i>) S
	impedire egerere applicare arundineta colere deputata genistam	inpedire AS egere A aplicari (^p <i>darker</i>) S harundineta AS colore A deputa AS genestā AS
§ 20	Trimestrium administretur vespere crater Pisces nonnunquam favonius . . . desinit	trimenstruum AS administraretur AS uesper AS grater A pisce A, pisce ([~] <i>darker</i>) S ñnumquā A <i>apparently in an erasure, but in the same kind of ink</i> S
§ 21	venti Septentrionales Ornithiae	uentis septentrionales A OPNCIOIAI AS A, F. 201 ^r begins, uel choro
PAGE 557		
	Coro crepusculo Halcyonei	choro S in crepusculo A alcyonaei AS
§ 22	frigidis vivira dicis	S, F. 111 ^r begins, in atlantico frigidus S uiuae radicis AS

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX AMBROSIANUS (A) AND CODEX SANGERMANENSIS (S)
PAGE 557		
II, § 22	esse temporis Cal.	temporis ēē A Kalendus A
PAGE 558		
§ 23	utique	utquenti A, utquenti (— <i>through</i> nt; — darker) S
	[est]	om. AS
§ 24	VI Nonas Martii Vindemiator quem Graeci <i>τρυγητῆρα</i> dicunt	VI NŌN · ŠŠ · uindemitor AS quā A greci AS (<i>so regularly</i>) ΙΡΥΓΗΤΗΡΑ dicūt (later, <i>in margin</i> , <i>τρυγητῆρα</i>) A
	Equus	equos A
§ 25	turbam negligentius aut nunc culturarum	turba A neglegentius AS at nunc A cultārū A
§ 26	usque in movent	usquem A moueant A
PAGE 559		
	humidis	umidis AS (<i>so regularly</i>)
	vitium	uitio A
	utilissime deponuntur	utilissima deponitur A
	Sarritura	sartura AS
	sarrit	sarit AS
		CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
§ 27	[a] submittuntur	om. sumittunt ²
§ 28	praeparare III sit	fieri quaternū om.
PAGE 560		
	dipondio semisse	dupondii semissis
§ 29	amurcam habeat conueniet sex habuerint	amurca habeant conueri& om. habuerit
§ 30	baccas myrti caeterorumque orthocissos ederas	bagas murti ceterorumque om. hederas

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 560		
II, § 30	iidem	idem
	Mart.	martis
	Corus	chorus
PAGE 561		
	Equus	aequus
	ningit	F. 111 ^r , begins, mane septentrionales
	IX et VIII Calendarum Aprilium	ninguit
§ 32	pingua	v (erased) VIII k ss .
	et quae	pinqua (darker)
	ueruacta fecimus	atque
	siquae	uerbacta facimus
	maritae	sique
	relictæ	maritaे (darker)
	quem	relicte (darker?)
	sera	quā
	huiusmodi	cetera
§ 33	panici	eiusmodi
	quadrupedia	panicīi
	in locis	quadripedia
	Idibus Martiis	ad locis
PAGE 562		idus martis
	nonnunquam	nonnumquam
	pridie	pride (~ seems darker)
	Aprilis Vergiliae	ss . uergilię (darker)
	celantur.	celantur (darker)
	Austri et	Austri (et om.)
	significant	significat (over a there seems to have been ~, afterwards erased)
§ 35	Aprilis Suculæ	ss . sucule (darker)
	uitesque	uites quae
	Oves	obes
PAGE 563		
	hiemat	hiemam
§ 36	Decimoctavo Calen.	XVIII k maias
	XIII Cal. Maias Suculæ	XIII k . ss . sucule (darker)
	se	om.
	pluviam	om.
	bipartitur	bipertitur
PAGE 564		
	humidus	uel idus
	Fidicula	fidueula

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)

CODEX SANGERMANENSIS

Page 364

II. § 37 pluiae. Pridie Cal. Maias
celat

ante-pluiae

genera

§ 38 pampinatio

in nocte

legato

pessimis

fessis

negligentia

fecus

§ 39 Cal. Maias

litteris

una

particula

particula

Page 365

III. Namas Maias

Maias Vergilius

chorus

plunia

VI. Ilias

§ 40 Vergilius tote

chorus

nonandae

feminae instituendae

ablaqueatis

LXX

Page 366

§ 41 seminaria

crebre

oportet

sed & a Calendis

sed

nouellis minis lana danda est

lana

velum

& muscantur

Cæterum teplis

Decembres

§ 42 menses

pluuii · Prid k ss ·

celat (, darker)

ceterę (, darker) que

genere (, darker)

pampinatio

incōatur (* darker)

dicito (, darker)

possunt

fusor (corr. to fessor in similar ink)

neglegentia

fetus

k̄ maias

viduo

una

particula sneula cū sole exoritur

F. 112^z begins, III non ss.

· ss · uergilię (, darker)

chorus

plunie (corr. to plunia in similar ink)

VI id ss ·

uergilię tote (, darker)

chorus

nonandae

fenisicie (, darker) instituende

ablaqueatis

LXX

seminaria (corr. to seminaria in darker ink)

crebre

oportet

sed & a k̄

tineis sed

nouellis fossio danda est

lana

velum

& muscantur

ceterum teplis (second e corr. to i in darker
ink)

decembris

menses

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 566	
II, § 42	praecipimus
§ 43	Maiis Fidis
	Euronotus
	Cal. Iunias Euronotus
	Cal. Iun. sol
PAGE 567	
	precepimus
	maiias fides
	eurinus
	kł · ss · eurinus
	kł ss ·
	Calend. Iun. Suculae
	nonnunquam
§ 44	eandemque et caeteras
	pampinare
	pampinabit
	oves
	aut amissi
	serit
	aratro
PAGE 568	
§ 45	Corus
§ 46	fructiferae
	ante
	iugera duo
	At
	lirantur una iugera
§ 47	tritici obseri modii
	caeterorumque
	modii
	Iisdem
PAGE 569	
	cultus
§ 48	pabulum . . . oportet
	A Cal. autem Iuniis
	Autumnnum
§ 49	in Canero
	a Graecis
	ጀφιοῦχος
	Cal. Iulii Solstitium
	quae
§ 50	siliquae
	paleam
	omneis
	ΦΙΟΥΧΟC
	kł ss · solistitiū
	.q. (, somewhat darker)
	siliqua
	paleas
	omnis

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 570		
II, § 50	aluos ad Cal. Maias demetendi	alueos a k <small>l</small> maias ādem & eundi (ā at beginning erased, n del. by a line somewhat darker)
	uacant adaperti	bacant (b corr. to v in darker ink)
§ 51	Calen. Iuliis Sexto Id. Iul.	adopertis k <small>l</small> iulias v idus s <small>ss</small> .
PAGE 571		
	optime siluestris	optim (corr. to optime in darker ink) siluestres (corr. to siluestris in somewhat darker ink)
	utilissime extirpatur mane	utilissimae extirpatur om.
	[Nono . . . significat.] (clare)	om.
§ 53	Canicula . . . Augustas	om.
PAGE 572		
§ 54	triginta quam desecta est stra- menta praecisa acervum	triginta prae <i>cis</i> a (and in margin quā de- secta est strā <i>m̄ta</i> in similar ink)
	adobruere sementis	acerū adobrūre (^ somewhat darker?)
§ 55	de fodiendis colendisve (iam)	sementis (mentis darker, in erasure) de colendis
	esse mensem mittendum	om. mensem esse omiu(=u?)endū (corr. to omittendū in darker ink)
§ 56	humidis fculneis arboribus	umidis arbori fculneis
PAGE 573		
	Cal. Augustis Etesiae	k <small>l</small> augustis &esie <small>y</small> (erasure above line)
§ 57	et	F. 113 ^R begins, medius nebulosus
	tempestatem	om.
§ 58	Hoc	tempestē &hoc
PAGE 574		
	Vindemiator	uindemitor
	III Cal. Septemb. humeri	III k <small>l</small> s <small>ss</small> umeri
	Etesiae	&esie <small>y</small> (s in erasure)
§ 59	vesperi	uespere

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)		CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 574		
II, § 59	inoculantur	inoculant
§ 60	Quibusdam refringitur, et resolvitur	quibusdā ^a (^a perhaps somewhat darker) refri ^b (^b perhaps somewhat darker) gitur et soluitur
	pulverentur	pluerentur (uer in erasure?)
	est terra, vel rara ipsa vitis	est uel terra uel ipsa uitis
	modii	modi
	quum fruticaverint	cū fruticauerunt
	tum	cū
PAGE 575		
§ 61	stercus vineis praebent	&ercus uineis prebent
	est status caeli sicut	a (erased) ē (~ darker) status caeli sui cui
	At e	ade (corr. to at e in darker ink)
	provinciis	p uin u'f (~ perhaps darker ink)
	vel aliis tegumentis uvae	uelis uel aliis tegmentis uue _y (y darker)
§ 62	quum villicae	tū uilice
	Filix	Felix (corr. to Filex in darker ink)
	extirpatur	extirpatur
§ 63	astrinus	auctrinus (corr. to austrinus)
	Septemb. Arcturus	· ss · arcturus
	exoritur	eaoritur (corr. to exoritur in darker ink)
	Corus	chorus
	Capra	cara
PAGE 576		
§ 64	tertiatum	tertia cū
	decoquunt	decoqūnt (~ darker)
	quum uillicae officia exequar,	praecipiā cum uilicē (~ darker) officia p
	praecipiam	sequar
§ 65	Corus	chorus
		F. 113 ^v begins
	Corus	horus (~ darker??)
§ 66	Auster	aut(t erased)ster
	etiam pluviam	&pluuiam
PAGE 577		
	interdum et pluviam	om.
	Aequinoctium autumnale plu-	aequinotium plerumque significat
	viam significat	
	desinit	definit (corr. to desinit by erasure)
	vindemiae	uindemīe (~ darker)
§ 67	regionibus fiunt	regioni ^b fiunt (~ darker, fi retouched in darker ink)

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 577 II, § 67	aliter immaturis eadem omnia intemperiem solis tentaverunt	alter inmaturis omnia eadem intemperi solis tēptauerunt
§ 68		
PAGE 578 § 69	nos facimus contemplari propemodum afferre quum in aestuante patitur ea percoqui	nox (<i>corr. to nos in darker ink</i>) fecimus contemplare pretermodum adferre cū ita in <i>om.</i> patiatur ea precipi (<i>and a letter erased, probably A</i>)
PAGE 579 § 71	decoquat consueverint rapinae farrago ordeacea <i>opp.</i> siliqua, <i>in marg.</i> foenum graecum conseritur	dequoquat consueverit rapinę (<i>. perhaps darker</i>) farraginaria siliqua · fenū grecū faenum grecū conserunt ²
§ 72	haec quem faseolus Calendas	hac qd passolus calendas (<i>corr. to kalendas in somewhat darker ink</i>)
	curam villicae	cūram uilice (<i>. darker</i>)
§ 73	Non. Octobris	noñ.
PAGE 580		
	desinit	desint
	stella	<i>F. 114^R begins</i> , significat nonnumquā
§ 74	octobris Corona nonnunquam quae supra scripta	steller (<i>corr. to stella</i>) ss · coronā (<i>final ~ erased</i>) nonnumquam quae scripta
	Iisdemque regionibus frumenta matura seruntur	isdem frumenta quae regioni bus matura seruntur
§ 75	novem vel decem	v · uel vi .

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 580		
II, § 75	ordei . . . sex vel panici faseoli	om. om. faseli
PAGE 581		
	unum vel novem vel decem cicerculae ciceris modios duos vel tres viciae vel octo viciae vel sex quatuor vel quinque ordeaceae cyathos denum latis pedum	om. VIII · uel x · cir(r erased) cercule om. uitiae uel uitiae ‡ vj. (darker, in erasure) III · uel v · hordeace quadros (corr. to quathos in darker ink) om.
§ 76	Idibus . . . ponuntur (§ 79)	(written in an erasure, at least partially; also apparently the following line)
	tempestas nonnunquam Quarto et decimo Calendas	tēperat nonnumquam tantūmodo iugulæ exoriuntur ueste · XIIII kī ‡ solis exortū
§ 77	Calendas Novembbris solis exortu	III ‡ ss & prid · cassiope (novembbris om.)
PAGE 582		
§ 78	Tertio Calendas et pridie No- vembbris (Cassiope)	arbusculæque pampinata arbusculæque
§ 79	seminariis putare	arbusculæ (, darker) quæ (, darker) pampinata arbusculæ(e corr. from o in darker ink) quæ (a erased) seminaris putari
PAGE 583		
	tamen pampinantur saepe solere	tameñ (n darker) (eN) panpinantur sepe (, not , darker) solere (re at end of line, in darker ink; at beginning of next line, erased)
§ 80	sit flore	sint florē
§ 81	operariis aliam sementim obrui	operaris ullā (~ darker) sementem obruere <i>F. 114° begins, & nouissimis</i>

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 583		
II, § 81	coactos tolli	°actos (° darker) tollere
§ 82	sarriri affirmare rivosque	sariri adfirmare riuos
PAGE 584		
§ 83	Iisdem iligneam diebus xxx praebueris . . . per ver scabiosi immiscenda apponenda acerbum	isdem iligneā (/ darker) diebus prebueris ut ait hyginus scabiosi inmiscenda adp(<i>corr. from</i> adb, <i>apparently</i>)onenda aceruum
§ 84	postridie III Non. Novembbris Fidicula	postridie III NON ss · fidicula (<i>corr. from</i> fidicua in darker ink)
PAGE 585		
	vii Idus Novembbris tempesta- tem significat	vii id ss · significat tēpestatē
§ 85	potueris certe spargas competierit Novembbris	poteris ce'te (° darker) peragas competierit nouembres
§ 86	et	om.
PAGE 586		
	quoquoversus quinos stercoris	quoque uersus quinque stercoris (<i>in erasure, written in an almost</i> <i>cursive hand, apparently for lack of room</i>)
§ 87	circumspergere sextarii urinae sextarios pedos ablaqueant	circumpargere sestarii urine (° darker) sestarios pedes oblaqueant
§ 88	Idibus Novembbris Septimo . . . cum pluvia	Idus nouembres om.
PAGE 587	Sex todecimo Calendas De- cembris	xvi k decēbres

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 587 II, § 88	Fidis Quintodecimo Calendas Decembris vesperi Undecimo Calendas Decembris ortu praeterita erunt confecisse de diurnum tempus adiiciendum aguntur et exacuique alvearia	fides xv k ss . uespere <i>F. 115^R begins, xi k ss .</i> oritus (i and s erased) p̄ terita ēr (except p, darker, in erasure) fecisse om. diutnū (tnū darker, in erasure) tempus (t touched up in darker ink) adiciendum agant ² after & one letter erased exag (corr. to exacui in darker ink) quae (. darker) albaria
PAGE 588 § 91	foecunda corbes aliquid affert iis novem	fecunda corues (corr. to corbes in darker ink) aliquit (corr. to aliquid in darker ink) adfert his nouē (~ darker)
§ 92	praeparari iampridem piscina iligneā	praepari (^{ra} perhaps darker) iam pridie piscena (corr. to piscina) iligneā (first darker)
§ 93	irrorat, Tertio Idus Decembris Corus	&rora ^t III id ss . chorus
PAGE 589 § 94	Sextodecimo Calendas Ianuarii Nono Calendas Ianuarias sicut Chaldei uespere vespere occidit causa	xvi k ianuarias VIII k ss . (under last l, ~, apparently later) sic chaldei uesperi occidit uespere causam
§ 95	quidquid comprehenditur	quidquid (corr. to quicquid by erasure) cōphendit

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 589		
II, § 95	oleum alligetur	<i>om.</i> alligent ²
PAGE 590		
§ 96	imponantur	inponantur
etiam	cerasi	cerasia
§ 97	hiems	taṁ & iā
	Fidis	hiemps (p <i>del.</i>)
§ 98	Pridie Id. Ian. Idus	fides <i>F. 115° begins, prid idus ss · after idus, cibariarū per singulos menses, in red rustic capitals</i>
	iugo	iuga
PAGE 591		
§ 99	quoque subiiciemus macerati foeni affatim ex ilice vel lauro ordeaceam siccam mense	quoquo (<i>corr. to quoqué in darker ink</i>) subiiciemus maceratis (<i>s erased</i>) faeni adfatim ex siliquis & lauru hordeaceam <i>om.</i> <i>om.</i>
§ 100	ex Cal. ad Idus vel foeni pabulum affatim Calen. affatim <i>twice</i>	ex ḫl ad (<i>idibus corr. to idus in darker ink</i>) et faeni papulum adfatim kalendis adfatim <i>twice</i>
§ 101	ficulnea Novemb. corbis unum immistum	ficulneā nouembri coruis bis (<i>corr. to corbis in darker ink</i>) <i>om.</i> inmistum
PAGE 592		
	immistum farraginem Decemb. farraginem	inmixtū faraginem decembri faraginem
Cap. III	III.	III <i>om.; to the right, de cultu hortorū, in red rustic capitals</i>

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 592		
III, § 1	villicum exequi curam quotidiani ruris dapes	uilicū exsequi cura cotidiani rured (erasure) apes (, darker; in the erasure had been e)
§ 2	Democritus . . . pecudumque munimus (§ 2 ad fin.)	om. ins. de muniendo et colendo horto (in red rustic capitals)
PAGE 593		
§ 3	Vetustissimi impensam immensis temporibus	uetussimi (^{tis.} darker) inpensam in̄m̄sis operibus
§ 4	(et latitudinis) sint paliuri	om. s̄it (corr. to sint in darker ink) palīri (^ darker)
§ 5	autem immiscere conspersa illinitur	om. inmiscere consparsa inlinitur
PAGE 594		
§ 6	inhaerent toris possint circa trigesimum	F. 116 ^R begins, sulcorū altitudinē inhe ^y (, somewhat darker, next letter erased) oris possit citra tric (corr. to g in darker ink) en (n del. by darker line) simū cooperint
PAGE 595		
§ 7	super scendant acquiescant	super se pandant adquiescant
§ 8	opp. locū, in marg. permittit adveniente	· de situ · (in somewhat darker rustic capitals) permit ^{tis.} (, darker, in an almost cursive hand) aduente (corr. to adueniente in darker ink, in almost cursive hand)
	possit irrigari est, quum sol ultimas obtinebit tunc fontium pluviali	possit rigari cū sol ultimas (est om.) optinebit om. fontiū (ntiū in erasure, in darker ink) pluuiatili

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 596		
III, § 10	illatam suae spontis quatuor eurabimus instituere convertemus	inlatam sue sponte quattuor curauimus instruere conuertamus
PAGE 597		
§ 11	et quum appropinquabit solutissimae arenae vere conserere iniicietur	sed cū adppinquabit solutissime (_y darker) harenæ conserere uere iniciet ²
§ 13	prosequuntur quaes ante sationem	<i>F. 116^v begins, manus ad</i> p secunt ² ante sationē quae
§ 14		
PAGE 598		
	brassicae lactucae chaerephylli vel melius	brassica lactuca caeraefolii uelius (us darker; u del. by a darker dot above the line, ius by a line)
§ 15	Appuliae sinapi digeramus	apuliae sinape dic(<i>corr. to dig in darker ink</i>)eramus
§ 16	lepidium	lepidū
PAGE 599		
§ 17	allii et ulpici nascatur betae, quur	alii ulpici enascat ² baete (<i>somewhat darker</i>) cū
§ 18	adhuc per aestatem provenit napi et siseris	ad hoc p̄uenit p̄ aestū ^x napis (<i>s erased</i>) siseris
§ 19	iis intelligi	his intellegi
§ 20	quidam allium	quide aliū
PAGE 600		
	ἀφροσκόροδον allium habet enim	ΑΦΡΟΣΚΟΡΔΟΝ aliū habet (<i>one letter erased</i>) enim (<i>e darker, m</i> <i>darker, corr. from on</i>)

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)		CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 600 III, § 20	allium cohaerentes spicas eaeque § 21 lira rustici haec disponendae deinde quum spicae, sarriantur superficiem	alium spicas (<i>one letter erased</i>) (coh. om.) eaeque (<i>upper bar of first E retouched in darker ink</i>) cū sunt libra rustici rustici hoc (<i>corr. to hec</i>) disponendi dein cū spiceq (, <i>darker</i>) sariant ² supficiem (<i>top of p, and f, darker in erasure; first l retouched in darker ink</i>)
PAGE 601 § 22	allium in iis locis quibus aut obruentur ut sic recondita inodorare § 23 illita involuta	F. 117 ^R begins, frigidis locis aliū ut his horis qb · aut ob(<i>darker in erasure</i>)ruentur om. fere condita odorari inlita iam uoluta (<i>a darker in erasure</i>)
PAGE 602 § 24	pluviis sarrita Calen. Martiis caules facias § 25 quot ponitur frigidis	pluvis sarta kł martiis caules (<i>above line darker</i>) facias (<i>i in erasure of one letter</i>) qđ ponunt ² frigidis (<i>under d and after s, erasures; d and s retouched in darker ink</i>)
§ 26	hieme dispergitur. sed sicque fit tenerioris Sunt autem complura seri earum quae fusci, et veluti	hiemē dispangit ² sed& si quo tenerioris (<i>s retouched in darker ink</i>) sunt quae cōplura fieri &eorū que (, <i>darker</i>) fusci & ut

ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)		CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 603		
III, § 26	et veluti Caeciliana disserritur At folio et § 27 Cyprii Idus April.	& ut cæciliana (° darker) differtur ad (corr. to at in darker ink) foli° (° darker) est cypri idus octobres
PAGE 604		
§ 28	intybi, nisi sobolem disponemur plantam circa Calend. Novemb.	intubinusi sobolē (corr. to sobolē in darker ink) disponimus plantā eiusq . (eiusq · del. by darker line) ante k <small>l</small> nouembr
§ 29	stercorabimus Sinapi eruca ocimum	stercorauim <small>l</small> sinape eruca ōcimum (° later, darker)
PAGE 605		
§ 30	afferunt disserritur Sed quaternos	adferunt disserrentur s& (corr. to sed in darker ink) quattuor
§ 31	servandum est omnes summas	F. 117° begins, in eo autem seruandū serendū est omnis sumas
PAGE 606		
§ 32	testulae adobruuntur assidua sarritio alius sectivi, nisi toties sarririque quoties quo complura illigantur ita	testilae (ilae darker, in erasure) adobrūntur (° darker) adsidua sartio aliud secti uin si (n corr. to ni in darker ink) totiens saririq; quotiens qd cū plura inligant ² om.

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 606		
III, § 32	in iis . . . potest iis at transfertur	after deb& his ad (<i>corr. to at</i>) transferunt ²
§ 33	[sed] praecipue	sed precipue
PAGE 607		
§ 34	illiget releget pilo expolitumque [in] obruet solstitium teporem ocima	inliget lig& palo expolitūquae (<i>corr. to expolitumque</i>) <i>om.</i> obruat solistitiū tēpore (<i>corr. to teporē in darker ink</i>) optima
PAGE 608		
§ 35	diligenter atque inula alte Inulam quoniam harundinis sarritionibus	diligent̄ atquae (<i>corr. to atque</i>) '' nulla (<i>corr. to inula in darker ink</i>) alto '' nullā (<i>corr. to inulā in darker ink</i>) quonā harundis sartionib;
PAGE 609		
§ 36	vocant <i>ἱπποσέλινον</i> , nonnulli σμύρνιον submittas, aevo sarritionis etiam	uocant hipposelinon . ΠΕΤΡΟΣΕΛΕΙΝΟΝ nonnulli ZMYPNAION . sūmittas saeuo sartionis &
§ 37	ita atque	<i>om.</i> &
§ 38	satam	fatā (<i>corr. to satā in darker ink</i>)
PAGE 610		
	aggerare debebit perniciosa ignorantiam perungito frutex	adgerare deb& pernitiosia (<i>corr. to pernetiosa in darker ink</i>) ignorantiā (^ darker) perungito. (o. darker, <i>corr. from?</i>) frutex (frute darker, where several letters had been erased)

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 610		
III, § 38	permanet in menstruis est § 39 cunila, et serpyllum retuli magis alvearia curantibus	man& est in menstruis <i>F. 118^a</i> begins, cunela serpyllum rettuli magis saluaria curanti ^b . (<i>fourth A and b.</i> <i>darker</i>)
PAGE 611		
§ 40	et semine seruntur thymi quum depressae comprehendant pinsito quum succum fruticibus § 41 cunila impensisus	& se semine seruatur thymi (<i>t darker</i>) cum (<i>corr. ?</i>) depresse comprehendat in illo cū sucū fructibus cunela inpenses
PAGE 612		
§ 42	post Cal. Novemb. sarritum florente foliorum hortus : ac debebit. Chaerephyllum ἀτράφαξυ semina suaque de sede partienda	Ε (<i>erased</i>) post kλ nouembr sartū flo(f and o darker, corr. from p and ?)r(<i>re- touched in darker ink</i>)enti floriorū (<i>corr. to foliorū in darker ink</i>) locus at debebunt chārefilium ΑΝΔΡΑΦΑΖΙΝ . semine suaque sede (<i>corr. from -dae</i>) patienda
PAGE 613		
§ 43	eandem habent chaerephyllum ἀτράφαξυ corrudam praeparantur solo quadragesimum implicantur illigatas	e(<i>darker, corr. from ?</i>)andē hab& cherephy lium an ΔΡΑΦΑΖΙC. corundā preparantur loco quadragensimū implicantur inligas

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 613		
III, § 43	connexas olitores spongias easque post quatuor madidum, stercoratumque	conexas holitores phongeas eas post quattuor ualidū stercorosūque
PAGE 614		
§ 44	dodrantalis spongiolae terra siccis at collocanda	dodrantales s(<i>del.</i>)fongie [?] terrae siccis (<i>corr. from ?</i>)is ad (<i>corr. to at in darker ink</i>) conlocanda
§ 45	emiserint, infringi vellere adhuc teneris invalidisque spongiola excaecant patiuntur	meminit tunc infringi uellere (<i>corr. to uellere</i>) uix adhuc teneris ualidis sphongiola m(erased)excę(, <i>darker</i>)cant paciuntur
PAGE 615		
§ 46	[est] submittenda consarriendi iniiciendus succus pluviis commoveatur relaxata fiat	om. sūmittenda <i>F. 118^e begins</i> , consariendi iniiciendus sucus pluinis cōmoueant ² relaxat* (* <i>darker</i>) fiat radix
PAGE 616		
§ 47	haec ratio	hęc (, <i>darker</i>) satio
§ 48	loco siccō	siccō loco
PAGE 617		
§ 49	rigationem ministrare aggerenda praebenda enascantur cooperint coaequetur præbebunt Calend. Mart. differri aequinoctio confecto	rigatione ministrare adgerenda prebenda enascatur ceperint coequ& ² prebebunt kł mař differre confecto aequinoctio

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 618		
III, § 49	ponito quum exaruerint	posito (<i>corr. to ponito in darker ink</i>) cū exar(ar darker in erasure)uerunt
§ 50	At si esculentae sumptum caeteris locum cucumeres consitae virentium visu foetus necabit § 51 iucundissimus	ac si esculentē („darker) suptū aeris om. cucumberis consitē („darker) urentiū uiso (<i>corr. to uisu in darker ink</i>) fetus nacauit (<i>corr. to naecauit in darker ink</i>) iucundissimis
PAGE 619		
§ 52	obserat praebeat humorem afflatu ac subiici	offerat prebeat umorē . adflatu a° (° darker) subici
PAGE 620		
§ 53	integi debebunt, ut etiam istud apud Bolum Mendesium rubos consitas eas paululum ligneo ferulae immittere nam ita non sed materna sicque	in integi debebuntur &iam istut (<i>corr. to istud in darker ink</i>) aput uolumendesiū <i>F. 119^R begins</i> , aprico & robos (<i>corr. to rubos</i>) consitas (tas darker, in erasure) ex paululo li ^g neo (° darker) ferulē („darker) immittere nāque non & (<i>corr. to sed in darker ink</i>) macerata sic
PAGE 621		
§ 54	provin ciis praedicti sint	puinciis (<i>corr. to pointiis in darker ink</i>) p̄dicto (<i>corr. to p̄dicti in darker ink</i>) sunt

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 621		
III, § 55	succoque levissimo	sucoque nouissimo
PAGE 622		
§ 56	convalescit ac	convalescat &
	deletis	dilectus
§ 57	aliquid ad pulmentaria	aliquid at plumentaria (<i>corr. to ad pulmentaria in darker ink</i>)
	sarriri	sariri
	disponito	dispositio
	quum coeperint virere	cū ceperint uiuere
PAGE 623		
§ 58	consarrito : deinde quum canteriolis rigorem stilorum vineae crebras ceparum prosternentur perarescat, aut	inconseritodie indi(<i>i erased</i>)ecū chateriolis rigorib; (<i>one letter erased</i>) stilorū uinea crebre (, <i>darker</i>) caeparū psternuntur p harescat ut
	§ 59 quatuor sextarios radicis Syriaceae	quattuor sestarios radicisuri "cae (" <i>darker</i>)
PAGE 624		
§ 60	pulex prorepentia pulvis [etiam], qui cameram	pulix (<i>corr. to pulex in darker ink</i>) p <small>rā</small> pentia (<small>rā</small> <i>darker</i>) plus qui (<small>v i</small> <i>darker</i>) caram (c <i>darker in erasure</i>)
PAGE 625		
§ 61	invenitur conspergi tota succum trahant seruntur quidam praecipiunt sucço nos huius	inuent <small>2</small> (<i>corr. to inuenit<small>2</small> in darker ink</i>) conspargi (<i>corr. to conspaergi in darker ink</i>) tota (<i>corr. from totā ? by erasure</i>) sueū trahat obserentur quidē precipunt (<i>corr. to precipiunt in darker ink</i>) sucō <i>F. 119° begins, remedio aduersus</i> non eius

	ED. SCHNEIDER (BOOK XI)	CODEX SANGERMANENSIS
PAGE 625		
III, § 61	minus larga est fuligine et praedicto pulvere	larga non est fuligine & p̄luere (, <i>darker</i>)
§ 62	Hyginus	higinus
PAGE 626		
	fiunt	fiant
	quum	om.
	soli	solui
	patitur	patiatur
	tentavimus: itaque rapum, et raphanum	tēptauimus itaque sicut rapharū
	servantque	seruari (<i>space for one letter</i>) q;
	Agricolae, qui quum	agricole (, <i>darker</i>) qui cū
	nascantur	nascatur
§ 63	est, ne	est & ne
	satio	patio
	gelicidiis peruratur, arundinibus	gelicidiis purantur harundinibus
	canterii	cantheri
	iisque virgae transversae impo- nuntur, et virgis stramenta	uirge (, <i>darker</i>) que & uirgis stramta supra
	supra	
	defenduntur	defendentur
	erucae, Graece	uruce (, <i>darker</i>) grece
PAGE 627		
§ 64	succo	succo
	erucae	uruce
	Sed	Sdd (<i>corr. to Sed in darker ink</i>)
	περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν	ΠΕΡΙΑΝΤΙΠΑΘΩΝ .
	affirmat	adfirmat
	has	hos (<i>corr. to has in darker ink; erasure above and below</i>)
	enecari	senecari (s erased; first e partially retouched <i>in darker ink</i>)
§ 65	Before Hactenus	— (<i>in darker ink</i>)
	quamvis instructum atque erudi- tum omni opere rustico	quāuis eruditū omni ^{opere} rustico (omni <i>darker</i> <i>in erasure; op darker</i>)
	eaque saepius	eaqueae (<i>corr. to eaque</i>) (<i>after faciendum sit,—liber primus, haec continet &c., &c.; and in margin,—ana- cefaleosis</i>)

NOTES ON VARIANTS IN A AND S FOR LIB. XI

(Most of the Variants require no comment; some of those in A are due to the peculiar Insular orthography; a few, however, are of sufficient interest for discussion.)

In the heading, *līb* of A is obviously an incorrect expansion of *L.* in the archetype.

I. § 3. The *anno* of Schneider (and R?) seems derived from expansion of the abbreviation *an.* or *ann.* The numerals, too, were apparently abbreviated.

§ 5. The persistent omission of *I* in *Ischomachus*, in A and S, is probably to be explained by a false correction on the part of a scribe familiar with the introduction of a spurious vowel before *S impura*.

§ 10. *diffussa* S. The doubling of single consonants, and *vice versa*, is characteristic of Insular manuscripts, but, of course, not infrequent elsewhere.

§ 18. *languidior est* seems a correct emendation. The abbreviation *ē* for *est* might easily have caused corruption to *languidiorē*. *ut ualetudinari* seems harder to explain. Note the variants in Schneider's apparatus.

§ 24. *istud* seems correct. *studium* probably crept in from *studium*, two lines below.

II. § 3. Schneider's *Romani* is obviously correct. The curious *qmani* A and *promani* S may be due to the *PR* of *principem*, two words before.

§ 4 etc. The obviously corrupt *sēp* etc. of S is evidently due to expansion of *ss*, the abbreviation for *suprascriptus*, -i, etc., which is used regularly in A and S to avoid the repetition of *Jan.*, *Febr.*, etc. (I have not thought it necessary to note each instance separately.) *Suprascriptus*, -i, etc., should apparently be read in all such places, instead of Schneider's *Jan.*, *Febr.*, etc.

§ 9. If Schneider's *vernaculum* is correct, the change *RN* > *NN* in AS is explainable by the form of *R* in Insular (and some Half-Uncial) hands, where it approaches that of *N*; but perhaps the conjecture *venuculum* (*vennuculum?*) is right.

§ 16. *pteā* S seems to be derived from *pteā = postea*.

§ 22. *Kalendus* A is due to *et Idus* following.

§ 23. The impossible *utiquenti* is due to *sequentis* preceding.

§ 29. *conuerig* S. Here, too, it would seem that the original of S had a form of *R* which could easily be confused with *N*. Cf. II, § 40, *nonandae* S; III, § 62, *rapharū* S.

§ 69. *propemodum* Schneider, *pretermodum* S. An abbreviation seems to have caused the variation.

III. § 27. The context requires Schneider's *April.*; the *octobres* of S must be due to conjectural emendation.

An examination of the apparatus which I publish here, and of that in Lundström's editions of the *Liber de Arboribus* and *De R. R. Lib. X*, shows that A and S are editions of the same archetype, and are very closely related. It is somewhat more difficult to say what is the relation of R (the later manuscripts) to A and S. A glance at Lundström's apparatus shows that when A and S differ, R and A regularly agree. Almost all the variants from A in R can easily be explained as due to conjectural

emendations. That many of these readings are obviously correct should not lead one to postulate a lost archetype for R. Such a supposition would result in a logical contradiction, as we should have in R, on the one hand, the peculiar readings of A, and, on the other, a class of correct readings of passages which are incorrectly given in A—the former explicable on the supposition of the derivation of R from A, and the latter incompatible with that supposition.

There are, however, two problems still to be solved before the subject of the manuscript tradition of Columella can be considered perfectly clear. (i) The later manuscripts fill up many *lacunae* which are left in A and S. Whether the passages supplied are simply the work of the Humanistic editors and scribes, presumably using other portions of Columella and the other agricultural writers for their purpose, or whether a genuine tradition, independent of A and S, is to be recognized here, could be settled by a thorough collation of the manuscripts for the passages in question, and a careful investigation of the results. (ii) There are certain passages¹ where, in Lundström's apparatus, A and S give an entirely wrong reading, but some of the later manuscripts give an only *partially* corrupt reading, the correct reading not appearing at all in the manuscripts. In these cases, since the emendation of a scribe can hardly explain the *partially* corrupt reading, one thinks naturally of the possibility of an independent tradition. These cases,² however, are very few, and it may be possible to explain them on some other basis. Accordingly, an investigation of the rest of Columella, in all the manuscripts, or at any rate in A, S, and the most important representatives of R, with reference to such passages also, is to be desired.

ALBERT W. VAN BUREN.³

¹ As Professor Vollmer of Munich pointed out to me.

² The passages in question, as far as I have observed them, are:

De Arboribus (ed. Lundström), p. 22, l. 2 (*adidas*) ; p. 32, l. 14 (*sed dispari loco pro differentia agri*) ;
De R. R. Lib. X, 288 (*Phoebe*) ; 378 (*trichilis*).

³ As this article is about to go to press, Professor Traube informs me that he at present considers probable the former existence of a *third* early manuscript of Columella; this was, perhaps, the source of the later Italian manuscripts, and, like the Ambrosianus, was at Fulda. It is to be hoped that Professor Traube himself will publish a fuller statement of this view, with the grounds for adopting it.

THE DATE OF THE ELECTION OF JULIAN

THE sentiments that Constantius and Julian entertained for one another during the latter part of Constantius's reign are very well described by Julian's own word, *λύκοφιλία*. "a friendship of wolves" (*Ep.* 68; Hertlein, p. 591). The truce between the distrustful cousins could not last, and their relations reached the breaking-point in the year 360 A.D. The final trouble began with the arrival at Julian's winter quarters at Paris of an order from Constantius, directing him to send East immediately some of his best troops, to serve in the spring campaign against the Persians.¹ This mandate was regarded with suspicion by Julian's party, who saw in it a device for drawing away their champion's forces, and they refused to regard the need of reënforcements as anything but a pretext. The prospect of a long march and a hard campaign in the East brought the discontent of the soldiers to a head; they rose, and proclaimed Julian Augustus. After protesting ineffectually, Julian accepted the situation and sent ambassadors to Constantius to tell him what had happened and to urge him to indorse the decision of the soldiery. Whereupon the Augustus sent back word to Julian to content himself with the rank of Caesar, "tumenti flatu deposito."² Julian spent the summer campaigning in Germany, wintered at Vienne, and the next year took the field against Constantius.

The chronology of these events, so far as the sources lead us, is as follows. The first message of Constantius arrived in Paris about the end of winter; for Ammianus says that the troops were to be despatched at once. "ut adesse possint armis primo vere movendis in Parthos."³ But it was after Lupicinus had been despatched against the Piets and Scots, who were invading Britain; for the messengers bore orders which would have prevented his expedition if they had arrived before his departure.⁴ Lupicinus assembled his troops at Boulogne, "adulta hieme."⁵ After Julian had sent his message to Constantius announcing the revolt,⁶ and had received his answer, he set out

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 4, 1.

² *Ibid.* XX, 9, 4.

³ *Ibid.* XX, 4, 2. Gibbon accuses Ammianus of inaccuracy in this passage; but Bury points out, in his edition of Gibbon, that Ammianus means that the troops were to be mustered in Italy "primo vere," not in the East (vol. II, p. 537).

⁴ *Ibid.* XX, 4, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* XX, 1, 3.

⁶ This embassy of Julian's was much delayed. It finally found Constantius at Caesarea in Cappadocia, at what time of year we cannot be sure, but doubtless on his way from Constantinople to Edessa. He remained a long time at Edessa, only leaving for Amida after the autumnal equinox (Amm. Marc. XX, 11, 4). With only this one point of time to work from, it is evident that Constantius's movements can help us very little.

on his German campaign.¹ This lasted three months,² after which he went into winter quarters at Vienne.³ He was at Vienne at least as early as November 5; for he celebrated his quinquennalia as Caesar in that city, and his Caesarsiphip dated from November 6, 355.⁴ He gave the games as Augustus, which shows that he already called himself by the greater title, in spite of the veto of Constantius.

It is clear that the data given above do not enable us to fix exactly the time of Julian's proclamation by the soldiery, and the date has consequently been always a matter of conjecture. Paul Allard, the latest historian of Julian, does not attempt to fix the date, merely repeating the more important conjectures.

"La date tout à fait précise," he says, "ne peut être indiquée avec certitude. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, t. IV, p. 452) place les faits en mars ou avril; M. de Broglie (*L'Eglise et l'Empire romain*, t. IV, p. 79) les met aux premiers jours de mars; Schwarz (*De vita et scriptis Juliani imperatoris*, p. 7 et 17) s'appuie sur la *Chronographie* de Léon le Grammairien pour proposer mai."⁵

The few hints which we get from the sources seem at first to point to the end of winter or early spring. Julian was in winter quarters (Amm. Marc. XX, 8, 2), and the orders of Constantius arrived at least as early as the end of winter. But that Julian was in winter quarters might mean either winter or spring, as the army in Gaul did not usually move out to its annual campaign before July;⁶ and there might have been a long interval between the arrival of Constantius's orders and the outbreak among the troops. Some time did elapse, in fact, between the two events, since in the interval the tribune Lintula levied a small body of light troops and departed for the East (XX, 4, 5), and Julian sent letters to his master-of-horse at Vienne and received answers to them (XX, 4). These considerations are enough to show that a later date has quite as much in favor of it as an early one; and the evidence collected by Schwarz, on p. 17 of his dissertation, turns the scale in favor of the later date; he cites the remark of Ammianus, which was quoted before, to the effect that the Gallic campaigns usually commenced in July. He points out that while, in response to Constantius's orders, a part of the troops he asked for had set out (the light-armed body under Lintula), the rest had not yet gone—which seems to point to a delay. A late date is also indicated by the words in XX, 4, 11, "Parisiis morabatur adhuc Caesar nusquam motus." Lastly and decisively, he cites the testimony of Leo Grammaticus: Ἰονιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δύο, Καῖσαρ δὲ γέγονεν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἑξ, κτλ.⁷ Since Julian was made Caesar on the 6th of November, 355, Schwarz concludes that his election must have occurred at the beginning of May, 360.

The later date is confirmed in a rather remarkable way by the inscription which is given below. It was reported by Patroni in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, p. 18, with

¹ Amm. Marc. XX, 10, 1. ² Julian, *Ep.* 38; Hertlein, p. 535. ³ Amm. Marc. XX, 10, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* XXI, 1, 4. For the date of his Caesarsiphip, see Socrates, II, 34; Idatius, under "Arbetione et Lolliano"; Amm. Marc. XV, 8, 17.

⁵ Paul Allard, *Julien l'Apostat* (Paris, 1900), I, p. 496, note (7). Schwarz's monograph was published at Bonn in 1888. Tillemont says only: "Personne n'en marque le jour: mais ce qui précéde et ce qui suit nous porte à croire que ce fut vers le mois de mars ou d'avril. L'on estoit encore en quartier d'hiver." I have not seen De Broglie's work.

⁶ Amm. Marc. XVII, 8, 1; Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 17.

⁷ Bekker, p. 92 (*Bonn Corpus*).

the following note: "Nei pressi di S. Maria Capua Vetere, corrispondente com' è noto al sito dell' antica Capua, in contrada Quattordici Ponti, fu rinvenuta l' epigrafe latina che trascrivo qui appresso. È incisa in una sottile lastra marmorea, la cui superficie, oltremodo consunta, si sgrana con facilità, larga m. 0.46 per 0.74 di altezza, con foro circolare in alto . . . La lettura di alcune parole rimane disperata ovvero incerta, sopra tutto nella parte superiore."¹ In the copy which follows, the ligatures and irregular shapes of letters in Petroni's copy are not reproduced. The part of the inscription which concerns us, of course, is the date in the last four lines.

X S

DESIDERIO VIRO PRAECL~~■■■■■~~
 DVLCEDINI SVPREMAE LETI AV~~■■■■■~~ (*sic*)
 IVSCIDIAE QVINTAE QVAE VIXIT
 ANNIS XXV MV DXV MVRRIVS
 VMIDIVS CVI IVNCTA FVIT ~~■■■■■~~
 ANNIS VIII MIII DXXV CVM QVa
 ETIAM SIBI QVIETEM PARAVIT
 DEP V KAL IVL DD NN CO
 NSTANTIO AVG X
 ET IVLIANO CAES III
 C O N S S

To understand the bearing which the date in the last four lines of the inscription has upon the election of Julian, it is necessary to realize how faithfully the Christian inscriptions reflected the political vicissitudes of this period. G. B. De Rossi was the first to show this relation in its full extent; and there are few pages in the literature of Latin epigraphy more interesting than his commentaries in the first volume of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, in which he traces the varying fortunes of emperor and usurper in the distorted consular formulae. During the brief reigns of Magnus Maximus and Eugenius, for example, the names of the legitimate consuls were carefully replaced on the inscriptions by those of the usurpers or their nominees. Every political upheaval that distracted the West has left its mark on the epitaphs. Nothing could bring before our minds so vividly the dread which the laws against lese-majesty and the far-reaching power of the later Roman bureaucracy had instilled into the minds of all classes of men than these slavish alterations of the consular formulae.

The inscriptions of 360 are no exception to the rule. The whole series of western stones can be divided at once into an earlier and later class; those of the first part of the year being dated by the normal formula, *Constantio Aug X et Iuliano Caes. III*

¹ In the vicinity of S. Maria Capua Vetere, which, as is well known, corresponds to the site of ancient Capua, was found the Latin inscription which I have here transcribed. It is cut on a thin slab of marble, the surface of which is much worn and crumbles easily. It is 0.46 m. wide by 0.74 m. high, and has a circular hole at the top. The reading of some of the letters is impossible or uncertain, particularly in the upper part.

cons., while in the second class, of the latter half of the year, the formula is in some way altered. Of the earlier class we have examples in a Roman inscription of the end of April (De Rossi, *Inscr.* I, no. 142); an inscription of the cemetery of Domitilla (SS. Nereo ed Achilleo), of the 6th of May, [dd] nn · constantio aug · X | [e]t iul(iano) · III cons · dep · prie (sic) | [n]on maias iul(ius) araba | sinus qui virxit an | n · XI in pace;¹ and probably a fragment from S. Agnese (Armellini, *S. Agnese*, p. 383), dated [Const]antio aug X et iu[liano caes III cons]. In the latter half of the year, as was said before, the formula was modified. An inscription of Rome, of the 17th and 19th of August, omits Julian's name entirely (De Rossi, *Inscr.* I, no. 143): *parentes dionysio filio dulcissimo · vix · an · V · m · VII d VIII · dp · | XVI kal · sept · constantio X · cos · in p | a ** ω | *dulcissime filie erotianeti · vix · | ann · V · m VII · d XI dep XIII · kal · sep · | constantio X cos · in pac.* De Rossi supposes that while, in the middle of August, the proclamation of Julian by the Gallic soldiery was known in Rome, it was still uncertain whether Constantius would declare him a rebel, or allow him to retain his rank of Caesar—as he eventually did; hence the omission of Julian's name and title. Whatever may be the immediate reason for it, the strange omission was certainly due to the arrival of the news from Paris and to the uncertainty as to Julian's future fortunes thereby produced. So also in an epitaph which comes, like our inscription, from Capua, dated October (*C.I.L.* X, 4485), we find the formula *dd nn (dominis nostris) X et III cos.* Whether this peculiar abbreviation of the regular phrase is a device to avoid the titles,—since Julian claimed that of Augustus (as early, at least, as November 5), and Constantius did not recognize his right to it,—or a means of leaving out Julian's name without offending his party, cannot be said. It shows, however, how people were trimming to please a nominal master in the East and a prospective one in the West. The same formula is found in a Syracusan inscription (Kaibel, 112) dated ΠΡΟ Ε ΚΑΛ | ΔΕΚΕΜΒ ΥΤΤΑΤΙΑ | ΤΩΝ ΚΥ(ρίων) ΤΟ Ι ΚΑΙ ΤΟ Γ, *V kal. Decembres consulatu dominorum nostrorum decies et ter.*

These modifications of the formula, then, are found to be all posterior to the election of Julian and to be caused by that event. Now the *latest* of the earlier inscriptions with the unchanged formula is our inscription from Capua reproduced above. Since the other inscriptions posterior to the election of Julian have the formula changed, without exception, we are justified in assuming that this formula shows that on the 27th of June, the day noted in the fourth line from the bottom, the news of the disturbance in Gaul had not yet reached Capua. We know that on the 17th of August, the date of the inscription which omits Julian's name, it had already got to Rome. We may say, then, that the tidings arrived in Capua and Rome at some time or times within the period roughly determined by these two dates. Even allowing for delay, which is not likely in the case of news, and granting time for the news to work on the public mind, we certainly cannot put the election of Julian earlier than May; and the latter part of May is indicated, rather than the beginning, where Schwarz places the event. The year and six months of Leo Grammaticus need not trouble us; for he

¹ Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. crist.* 1899, p. 27. The omission of Julian's title *Caes.* after his name is scarcely significant; the second title being sometimes omitted to save space, which is plainly the case here, as we may see from the abbreviations *Iul(iano)* and *Iul(ius).*

would have said the same, whatever the day of May on which the election occurred. He is a dealer in round numbers, as we see from his giving two years to the reign of Julian, although the time from the death of Constantius to the death of Julian was less than a year and eight months. Some time elapsed between the revolt and the beginning of the German campaign, since, in the interval, Julian's embassy, which was delayed, reached Constantius, and Constantius's letters in return were received and read to the soldiers in Paris (*Amm. Marc.* XX, 9). But time enough is left for this exchange of letters and the three-months German campaign before we find Julian in his winter quarters at Vienne on November 5.

CHARLES R. MOREY.

REPORT ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN TURKESTAN

THE discoveries of archaeological remains made during recent years in Crete, Egypt, and Mesopotamia have carried our knowledge of the early stages of the development of human activity in Western Europe back to a period far beyond what was known or even suspected a generation ago. Much of the new material thus found is of substance and style so rude as to be of instant interest only to the specialist; but there is also much, as, for instance, the objects from Crete, that possesses a charm of style that is apt to claim the whole attention of the student, blinding him to the larger interests that all this material, the rude as well as the artistic, contain,—interests, that is, connected with the intercommunication and relations of the earliest known tribes and races that later developed into the historical peoples of Europe. The great importance of the study of these matters lies in the fact that they offer the direct, though often indistinct, path to a complete comprehension of the various classical civilizations upon which so much of our modern education is founded. It is not enough to know that such or such were the works of a people at some given epoch, but the true archaeologist, as distinguished from the student of bric-a-brac, must know what were the sources whence came the influences that led to the formation of the people's ideals. Only through this knowledge is the educational value of archaeology attained; and archaeology becomes of exactly as much importance as history, political economy, philosophy, or any other of the subjects commonly granted to be of superior importance in the training of the educated classes. In fact, archaeology is intimately connected with these studies. It is owing to the growing recognition of the claims of archaeology that the discoveries in Egypt and Mesopotamia have attracted such widespread interest. The work of Schliemann and his successors led the student of Greece to Asia Minor and Egypt. The discoveries of Layard and his followers and the translation of the cuneiform inscriptions showed clearly the existence of intimate and character-moulding relations between Egypt and Asia Minor and the lands that are now Persia. From each and all of these discoveries one fact becomes perfectly clear, and that is that in no part of the world has a people developed to a high standard by itself and by its own energies. Everywhere it has become evident that each people and country had a "Hinterland," a back country, to which the student must push his way, and the way leads steadily east. Somewhere there will be found one of those foci, one of those starting-posts in the march of human development whence all our special study of particular countries or epochs must start, if our deductions are to have the value of

historic truth, on which, perhaps, later may be based the equal value of imaginative possibility.

It was in the hope of finding traces, more distinct than are described in the scanty literature on the subject, of the civilizations that were contemporary with and necessary to the earliest developments in Mesopotamia, that I passed some months of the summer of 1903 in the Russian provinces of Western Central Asia.¹ The reasons for seeking in the country east of Mesopotamia for the remains of early civilization are of several different sorts. Geography alone would tend strongly to prove that cities such as Ur, Babylon, or Nineveh were dependent for their growth and power on some circumstances other than were to be found in the immediate neighborhood. The lack of mines or quarries near at hand and the forbidding deserts on either side of the country were sufficient causes to prevent any purely self-contained development there in early times. What did lead to the development of these cities was shown by the map, suggested by ancient writers, and proved by the inscriptions dug up in later years. These tablets, found by the thousand, show that whether at Ur or Nineveh, whether to the north or south, whether early or late, the chief activities of the Mesopotamians were directed (as those of any other great power) in channels of commerce. The lists of tribute, the laws of contract and banking, the development of astronomy, all show this. In fact, the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris became the seats of powerful races because it was in these valleys that the tracks followed by the merchants trading from east and west crossed. These valleys had few natural resources, comparatively speaking, but they were the natural places for merchants coming from Orient or Occident to meet. They were market-places, and grew rich on the business brought by the meeting of the various caravans and on the resulting commissions. In a general way it is known what were the articles brought from east and west. One of the most important of those from the west was metal, such as tin² and bronze, much of the latter coming probably from the Sinaitic peninsula. From the east then, as now, came articles of luxury,—silks, embroideries, jewels, spices, scents, used originally in religious rites,—and later, with the growth of wealth, the consumption of these articles increased with their use by individuals, until the extravagant waste of them in the time of the Roman empire. Thus it was that Mesopotamia grew rich, powerful, and influential in the history of the world, because there were peoples on each side of her who had developed to such degree that they desired to exchange their products for those from elsewhere. On the west the chief people were the Egyptians, and the date of their rise to the position of a power was some time about four thousand years before Christ. That they were a numerous race before that is known by antiquities dug up recently; but those that can be dated before 4000 B.C. seem but little affected by knowledge of the outside

¹ My thanks are due to the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome for permitting me to leave Italy a few weeks before the official closing of the School. Furthermore, had it not been for the generous assistance of James Loeb, Esq., the trip could not have been undertaken. My plans were already made when I was asked by Professor Raphael Pumpelly to join a party led by him, which was being sent to the same country by the Carnegie Institution. This I was very glad, for practical reasons, to do, and now that the trip is over, to the practical reasons I add many others based on help and friendship shown me by him. I owe him much.

² Tin mines are reported to exist in Afghanistan.

world. It is quite likely, as Adams suggests,¹ that the first foreign relations acquired by Egypt were a direct result of the taking and working of the copper mines of Sinai by Sneferu, the predecessor of Cheops. While the history of Egypt, even in such early periods as this, is fairly well known and is becoming year by year more so, the same cannot be said of the races that were at the eastern end of the balance of which Mesopotamia was the fulcrum. A glance at the map shows, however, where they are to be sought. Just as Babylon was separated from Egypt by the difficult country of Arabia, so did the deserts divide Persia from the jewel mines of the mountains beyond which lay the luxury-producing lands of India and China. These mountains, stretching from the wastes of Siberia on the north to the desolate stretches of Beluchistan on the south, have always formed a very serious barrier between India and China and Western Europe. Hence the region in which to search for the cities that formed the balance to Egypt is on the western side of the mountains below those passes over which Chinese and Indian goods were carried and where naturally caravans would have been made up and where traders met at a common market. This supposition, based on geography and a knowledge of human nature, is borne out by tradition; for at just such a place on the northwestern borders of Afghanistan was Balkh, the capital of Bactria, a city famous as far back as the earliest written history, and known now as the "Mother of Cities." It must be remembered that a traditional title of this sort is apt to be one of the very oldest things handed down to us from the forgotten Past. Another reason for studying the country east of the Caspian was that the reports² of travellers and the maps of the Russian government showed that at many places there were extensive ruins. At Merv and at Balkh these ruins spread over many miles of territory; and while elsewhere they did not seem to be of so great extent, they are certainly very numerous, and spread out from the mountain passes and down the rivers toward the west in a way that is easily intelligible, but that, taken in connection with the other considerations of geography and history above referred to, is exciting and suggestive to the mind of the archaeologist. Judging from the map and from history, these places, while perhaps many of them are contemporary in their larger developments, will show different archaeological conditions. The valley of Ferghana, even now famous for its fertility and plentiful water supply, has, as is natural, traces of a more scattered population and sites of a less extent than one finds on the Murghab River. There, shut off from the outer world by a dangerous desert, Merv grew up in solitary grandeur, and doubtless displayed a civilization and arts rather less affected by foreign influence than Balkh or Samarcand. But, of course, excavation alone can prove the justness of this theory. Balkh was of chief importance also because of the many trade routes that met at her gates and her consequent importance as a centre of exchange. But she was manifestly less susceptible to foreign influence, and so her remains, if they are ever brought to light, will perhaps be less simple to understand and less clear in the evidence they give of the early civilization of this region than those of Merv.

In this regard Samarcand resembles Balkh; there we have actual evidence of

¹ *The New Empire*, p. 4.

² For example, O'Donovan's *Merv* and Ferrier's *Travels*.

things to give force to the general proposition, for terra-cottas and other works, to be described later, show that at least later she was very much influenced by the Greeks; and if later by one race, why not earlier by others? But Samarcand, on the Sarafshan River, brings another fact before us. It is that, as was natural in this land of desert and waste mountain land, the waste may vary if the remains are to be sought along the river banks. Wherever we went on our journey along the rivers, we were hardly out of sight of ruins at any time,—some greater and some smaller, but almost all of a character to suggest high antiquity.

In regard to future work, one point is noteworthy. It is that on the rivers, at a considerable distance below the modern towns, are visible the ruins of the ancient cities. Not that the large mass of ruins at Merv or at Samarcand are at any great distance from the modern cities, but that lower down the course of the stream than are these rivers remains are others of no mean proportions. The reason that they are lower, that larger and probably more recent remains are higher up, and that the modern towns are in turn higher still, is that the rivers carry less water than they did, and so their influence is not felt so far into the desert as it once was. The lack of water is due, Professor Pampelly tells me, probably to the wearing down of the tops of the mountains, which catch the snow that forms the rivers, and the tilting up of the earth's crust from north to south in this region, which causes a diminution of force in the current of the stream and consequent greater evaporation along the higher reaches. This geologic process can, however, hardly be the explanation of the archaeological phenomenon noted. That is due probably, as Dr. H. Garth suggests to me, to the desire of the founders of new cities to avoid the ghosts and traditions of their predecessors and to get the first draw of the river water for their new gardens. The importance of this archaeologically is that when excavations are carried out, the mounds and ruins of less imposing appearance, the ones that are farther down the rivers and deeper in the present desert, ought to be ransacked, and may be expected to give up to us antiquities of greater age than the ruins nearer the modern cities.

In regard to the remains that have been found in past years and published, not much can be said. A small amount of more or less careful digging has been done, but the results have either not been published at all, or else in books and journals that are almost as difficult to get possession of as the antiquities themselves. The person who seems to have done the most was General Koenig, but it seems probable, from what I was told, that his work was not of a very scientific character.¹ Other diggings, or rather scratchings, that I will speak of later, were made at Samarcand, but the diggers seem to have stopped long before they got to a level at which there could be reasonable expectation of finding anything important. They were stopped by what, certainly at Samarcand and probably elsewhere, will be one of the chief difficulties of the future excavators, and that is the immense amount of dirt that must be moved before the interesting and repayable levels are reached. This, however, is one of the frequent trials of the excavator,—to be overruled by a slight amount of persistence and money. Of antiquities themselves found in this region the most easily accessible

¹ See Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 159.

collection is the so-called "Treasure of the Oxus" in the British Museum. These objects are mostly bracelets, rings, figurines, and ornamental sheets of gold, and are published in *Les Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, figs. 298–300, by Reinach, Kondakof, and Tolstoi. Interesting as these objects are, they are of late date, and do not carry us back to the earlier times, when, if not so rich, this region was unquestionably

powerful and growing. It is not surprising—in fact, it is to be expected—that objects found, as those now known as coming from the Transcaspian country, should not be of any great age. They have been found either by chance or by excavations that were neither very deep nor elaborate; and in this land of vast and wind-blown wastes the excavations that will bring to light the work and records of the earliest dwellers will have to be carried to uncommon depths. The history of the excavations by Schliemann and Dörpfeld at Troy affords good and familiar examples to illustrate the kind of work that the meteorological conditions of the Transcaspian will enforce.

Up to this point I have dealt largely with the general and abstract reasons which made it worth while to undertake a journey to these countries. By themselves it seems as though they would be sufficient to induce any archaeologist or archaeological soci-



FIGURE 1.—TRENCH CUT IN KURGAN AT ANAU

ety to undertake the work of thorough exploration, but additional reasons, drawn from observation on the spot, can be adduced.

The ruins of which I am about to speak are all east of the Caspian, but whoever pursues further investigation there ought to be familiar with what has been found in the Caucasus, much of which is now in the excellent museum at Tiflis.¹ The remains in Turkestan bear a certain external resemblance to those of Mesopotamia. That is, there is visible little or nothing of stone, but where the towns once were are now great mounds formed by the collapse and weathering of sun-dried brick. These mounds, or *kurgans*, to use the native word, are found over the whole country, from the shores of the Caspian to the valley of Ferghana—wherever there was water.² To the south

¹ See *Die Sammlungen des Kaukasischen Museums*, Bd. V.

² Naturally, they are non-existent in the pure desert. Their great number suggests that a careful map of them might throw light on the former course of the Oxus and the extent of the Caspian and Aral seas.

they are seen along the river Atrek; and at Gumbet-Kobous, some fifty versts south of Tschalui, are the extensive ruins of a city reported to be of Alexander's time,—the same report one hears of every ruin,¹—while about 40 versts east of Tschalui are other ruins. Neither of these groups did I see, nor others that are found to the north along the Oxus, between Khiva and Chardjui. The first important *kurgan*² that I had a chance to study was at Anau, a few miles east of Aschabad (Figs. 1, 2). This rather regularly conical mound, of perhaps 80 yards diameter, has had a trench dug through it from side to side. This trench was not sunk anything like deep enough to show the lowest parts of the *kurgan*, but its sides showed very distinctly a regular stratification, layers of ashes alternating with layers of earth, though the strata did not reach always across the whole mound. In two places near the top were possible traces of walls of



FIGURE 2.—KURGAN AT ANAU

sun-dried brick. In the sides of the trench were many bones of animals and bits of pottery, and some almost perfect large, coarse vases, or jars.³ The bits of pottery were of red or black surface, unornamented, with the exception of a few pieces that showed roughly painted scrawls, but were so broken that it is impossible to say to what class they belong. None showed any slip. The larger jars seem to have been roughly hemispherical, to have had covers, to be $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, and were made of a yellowish, imperfectly baked clay, with painted decoration on the outside. This

¹ For the ruins on the Atrek and the Giorgen, see Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 52, 54.

² The traveller needs to take care that he is led on no wild-goose chase by the free way the word *kurgan* is used in Turkestan. It seems to be applied to any mound the origin or use of which is not clear enough to suggest a more distinctive name, and bears no reference to date, size, or inner character. From inquiry and study of the excellent Russian maps it is plain that the *kurgans* of archaeological interest are to be found along all the river valleys.

³ Some of the bones gathered here and elsewhere were taken home by Professor Pumelly for classification.



FIGURE 3.—RUINS AT MERV



FIGURE 4.—RUINS AT MERV

decoration, of brown color, seemed to be of plain lines and stripes, or of bands with a kind of saw-tooth projection at irregular intervals which was not dissimilar to pottery made by some of the Indians in North and South Carolina. I saw none of these jars in the upper strata of the mound. They seemed to be in the middle, and from the close proximity of bones to some of them and the presence of ashes it seems that perhaps they were used for burial or sacrificial purposes.¹ No traces of metal, either of weapons or tools, were to be found, and only one bit of worked stone — a pebble some 8 inches in diameter, roughly flattened on two sides and rounded about the edges, with a hole bored through it. The lack of stone implements is one of the most noticeable archaeological phenomena of the country. In none of the museums that are being started nor in any private collection did I see any.



FIGURE 5.—RUINS AT MERV

Doubtless this is in part due to the fact that collectors, authorized or unauthorized, have been, up to the present, mainly concerned with the search for more exciting things than objects of stone; and even when such things as corn-crushers are pointed out or taken to the authorities, they show little or no interest in them. Though little of manifest importance could be found in this mound at Anau, more than sufficient came to light to show that such mounds are worthy of very careful exploration. Besides searching for their contents, the relation of their strata to their outer surface and the relation of the bottom to the surrounding plain ought to be studied,

¹ A serious difficulty is met in explaining the contents of these *kurgans*, for some of them have been used in recent times by the natives for burial or dwelling places. I noticed this at Margellan and Samarcand. Models in the Tiflis Museum of certain *kurgans* in the Caucasus show that in some cases bodies were buried in them and animals sacrificed at the same time.



FIGURE 6.—RUINS AT MERV



FIGURE 7.—AFROSIAB FROM SOUTH

as affording evidence of the original shape and size, the amount they have weathered, and their age.¹

Near by this *kurgan* are the crumbling walls of a town deserted some hundred years ago because of the drying up of the water-supply. Among the houses is still standing a very beautiful façade of a madrassy; but the chief interest of the place is afforded by the evidence it gives of the rate of destruction of buildings of sun-dried brick when they are wasted merely by the hand of nature. The town of Baikent,² in the desert west of Bokhara, a town that was flourishing a thousand years ago, but was destroyed soon after, affords further evidence on the same point (Figs. 22, 23).

Beyond Anau one comes to Merv, where is the largest and most important group of ruins that we saw (Figs. 3-6). They cover many square miles, and have been care-



FIGURE 8.—NORTH WALL OF AFROSIAB, LOOKING WEST ALONG RIVER

fully mapped by the authorities of the Czar's estate, which is near by. They fall into four groups, the Mohammedan, the so-called Alexandrian, the pre-Alexandrian, and then, separated by some miles from these three connected groups, are some very large mounds. Without digging, little can be said of the nature of the ruins. Lines of walls are perfectly evident, and in many of the crumbled heaps evidences of the sun-dried brick of which they were built are clearly seen. There was only one small excavator's trench that could be explored, and this was in a little mound in the oldest ruins. Pottery was visible in it, but nothing else. The finds of coins and gems of the Graeco-Persian and Alexandrian epochs made by the local antiquaries show

¹ For the general question of *kurgans* and their contents, cf. Schuyler's *Turkestan*, I, pp. 67, 68; Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 56, 71.

² Near the railway station of Iakkatut.

that excavation here would afford a rich yield, and with so much of these epochs and with such an exceptionally large field of ruins and *kurgans* it cannot be doubted that this site is one of the most important for the investigation of the problems of the prehistoric archaeology of this country. It is not unlikely that the large mounds to the north of the chief mass of ruins will yield objects as important as anything to be found elsewhere; for they are evidently the remains of large settle-

ments, and are lower down the course of the Murghab River, where the water used to flow before it lost itself in the desert sand, but no longer offers an oasis for cultivation. Other mound walls exist to the southeast, where, at a distance of about 50 versts, is a space some 10 versts long by 2 broad, surrounded by a ridge and crossed by two others, and having *kurgans* at most of the angles. From the lower end of the rectangle a long ridge projects about 20 versts southeast.

Between Merv and Bokhara mounds are not common, though near Charjui, on the Oxus, are some large ones, and they are reported to be numerous. This was to be expected, for this is the waterway that leads from Balkh. Just north of Balkh, at Termes, where the road to Bokhara and Samarcand crosses the river, are considerable and important ruins; but as this is one of the Russian



FIGURE 9.—GATE (?) OF SUN-DRIED BRICK ON NORTH SIDE
OF AFROSIAB

outposts, which one must have a special permit to visit, I was unable to see them. They are reported to be in a measure of stone, and, considering the proximity of the mountains, this is likely, but it also probably means that they are of late date.

At Bokhara itself there seems to be little visible of great antiquity, though *kurgans* exist there as well as elsewhere. The bazaar offered a good opportunity for finding out whether many odds and ends of antiquities are found by the natives and brought there for sale. In this respect this bazaar and all the others I visited were very disappointing. The money dealers and jewellers could show scarcely any antiquities other than Mohammedan and Graeco-Persian coins or intaglios. Even Alexander's coinage was scarce. The poverty of the bazaar in respect to antiquities is probably to be explained partly by the facts that the natives as yet do not realize that any ancient



FIGURE 10.—MARKET PLACE, SAMARCAN

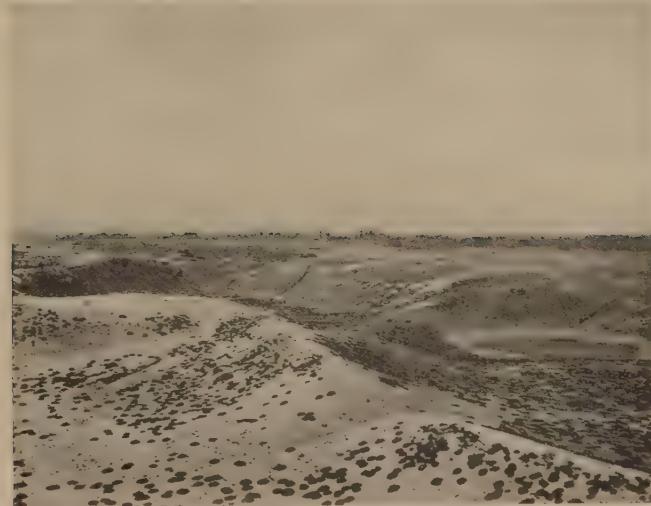


FIGURE 11.—VIEW TOWARD SAMARCAN FROM SUMMIT OF AFROSIAB

objects except gems, coins, and objects in gold or silver have any value, and also, as there is but little agriculture, the soil is not turned over. While there was but little that was good to be found in the bazaar at Bokhara, there was a good deal that was bad, for this town is the centre of a thriving trade in forged coins and gems. The greater part are of Graeco-Persian or Graeco-Roman types and are very skilfully made; many of the gems have real charm of design and workmanship.

Next to Merv the ruins of Samarcand were the largest in extent and the most interesting. They are of two classes: one, the *kurgans*, many of large size, that dot the plain south of the city; the other, the remains adjoining the city on the north, of the ancient Afrosiab (Figs. 7-12).



FIGURE 12.—WEST WALL OF AFROSIAB

The *kurgans* seem to be in no particular unusual. One of them, however, which had been used for some generations as a burial-place for a neighboring village, made one realize how careful excavators will need to be in sorting the contents of these mounds when the time comes to dig them. On the surface of this *kurgan* I picked up a flat stone corn-grinder. How this came to be among the graves is not easy to see, unless it had been turned up from inside the mound, where (as in a mound at Margellan) such objects sometimes occur in large numbers. In another mound near by that had been cut by rain and burrowed by treasure-hunters was found a granite pestle, the whole surface of which was rotted. It seems as though this must imply the lapse of a great length of time since the pestle was buried, though it is possible, I suppose, that some unusual strength of acid in the earth where it was found might have produced the same effect quickly.

But at Samarcand it is not these *kurgans*, but the ruins of Afrosiab, that offer the most



FIGURE 13.—FIGURINES IN THE MUSEUM AT SAMARCAKND



FIGURE 14.—FIGURINES: COLLECTION OF GENERAL POSLOVSKY AT TASHKENT

interesting field to the excavator.¹ This site was examined in 1885 by M. Wesselofsky. The map made of these explorations shows that no really extensive or thorough work was undertaken, and the fact that the excavator found a large number of terra-cotta figurines of strange types, but could not explain their presence in the spot where they were found, shows that the work was haphazard. On finding such objects, the work ought to have been continued until it could be said whether these figurines were from graves or houses or potters' shops. Some definite evidence should have been sought. Many of these figurines of animals and human beings are in the museum at Samarcand (Fig. 13). The animals are for the most part of ruder work than the human figures, which latter might be divided into three or four distinct classes. There are very rude figures; then those that show Greek, Persian, or Chinese influence. These are small and



FIGURE 15.—JARS FROM KURGANS: TASHKENT MUSEUM

solid, not baked hollow like the Tanagra figures. Besides these figurines, several small (about 2 feet \times 1 foot) terra-cotta sarcophagi have been turned up from time to time near the ruins, but never, I believe, in the *kurgans*. One set was found in a sort of tunnel underneath a modern house. These are of late date, as can be seen from the heads or figures with which one side is generally decorated. They seem to have been used without covers, and to have contained only the scraped and boiled bones of the dead.² All the bones except the skulls, which seem not to have been buried with the rest, are present, and in some cases the bones of more than one person are found in one box. Coins and gems are said to be found frequently in the ruins. Of glass or bronze

¹ For antiquities found at Samarcand, see Reinach and others, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, pp. 353 f.

² That the bones were boiled is proved, I am told, by the lack of the periosteum. Cf. Strabo, XI, 8, 6, and XI, 11, 8.

there was extremely little, either in the museums or in the bazaar. Neither here nor elsewhere did I see a single fragment of anything suggesting Egypt.

That the ruins hide much of interest cannot be doubted. They cover an area of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ versts square, and consist of three chief parts, the Acropolis on the north,



FIGURE 16.—TERRA-COTTAS: TASHKENT MUSEUM

the walls, and the area between the walls and the Acropolis. The walls are well defined, and on the north and west are pierced by a tunnel. On the Acropolis, walls of sun-dried brick show in two or three gullies, while all over the rest of the area,



FIGURE 17.—FIGURINE (ABOUT 18 INCHES HIGH): SAMARCAUD MUSEUM

wherever there is a trench or gully, one finds bones and pottery. The figurines are said to be found in the southern part of the area. The chief difficulty that the site will present to the excavator is the depth of soil to be removed before the most interesting levels are reached. In parts it is evident that as much as 20 or 30 feet will have to be carted away.

Beyond Samarcand I saw no other mass of ruins of equal extent, but at Tashkent are two large *kurgans* that afford special opportunities for studying their construction. One, near the railway station, has been cut into on the sides to get clay for bricks, and this has exposed in several places remains of walls of sun-dried brick close to the bottom of the mound. Bits of bone were scattered all through the earth, and in places were ashes and charcoal.

The second *kurgan*, to the northeast of the town, had shafts dug in it some years ago, and it is evident that the interior of the mound has walls and passages running through it. Haphazard excavation to begin with and the grubbing of treasure-hunters since has left this, as well as many other sites, in a condition that makes it almost impossible to form any definite ideas as to the original character of the mounds.



FIGURE 18.—KURGAN AT MARGELLAN
Destroyed to make brick.

Though there are not so many ruins at Tashkent as in some other places, the museum, and above all the presence of two or three learned Russian officials, make it an important place to visit. General Poslovsky, whose knowledge and advice were of the greatest assistance, has a most interesting collection of coins, gems, and terra-cottas (Fig. 14), and is full of information concerning the history and ruins of the country.

It was at Tashkent I first heard of the so-called "Houses of the Magi," which are said to be buildings of stone and to exist at Tashkurgan (near Tschust) and on the road between Tashkent and Kokand. These two places may possibly be the same. It is incredibly difficult to get accurate information about such things in Turkestan, and when we finally reached Tschust no one had ever heard of "Houses of the Magi" or any other stone ruins. Considering the source of my information, I still believe

they do exist. At any rate, Tschust is worth a visit, for to the southeast, on the high banks of the Syr Daria, are the ruins of Aksy (Figs. 20, 21), a large walled town, where Greek coins are said to have been found.

At Margellan, in the garden of the governor, is still another *kurgan*, which had been dug up and hence gave a chance to study its construction (Figs. 18, 19). Traces of walls of sun-dried brick were very apparent. These were near the bottom, while nearer the surface were several large,¹ undecorated terra-cotta jugs, which, judging by the human bones scattered around them, had been used as sarcophagi.²

The use of the mound as a graveyard was not its only purpose, for it was evident, from the large number of corn-grinders and flat stones on which to grind the corn, that the mound had been dwelt on by a fairly numerous population. But of this population no further traces were visible, not even pottery.

The museum at Margellan contains little of interest to the archaeologist as yet, but there are two bits of pottery found in a *kurgan* different from any I saw elsewhere. One is a hemispherical cup, about 5 inches across, without handle and with the upper half decorated with checkerboard pattern in dark brown. The other is a fragment. It has the shape of a horse's(?) head and is decorated with lines of brown. In so far as it is an animal's head that is rudely represented, it recalls the figurines found at Afrosiab. In so far as clay and decoration go, these two pieces remind one of the heavier, coarser pottery at Anau.

Beyond Margellan one passes gradually out of the region of plains, where there are *kurgans*, and into the region of hills and rock-carvings. One of the last of the rock-carvings is at Kumgurissi, southeast of Osh, and in a mound there Chinese remains have been found. This is, as it were, an archaeological boundary stone, dividing Europe and the Orient. Of rock-carvings I saw only those at Arivan, a small town near Osh. They represent men armed with bow and arrow, and horses, and are carved on a hard limestone rock. Others exist on the Kug-art River, east of Namangan. Though we

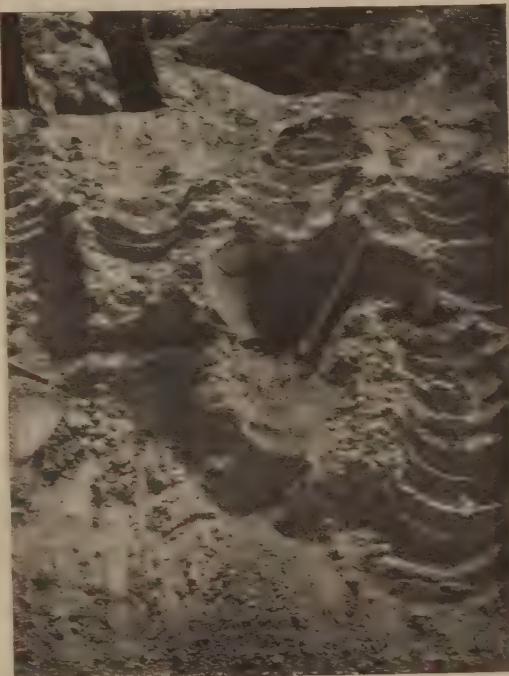


FIGURE 19.—VASE IN KURGAN AT MARGELLAN

¹ About 3 feet high and shaped like a Roman helmet.

² Perhaps these should be compared with the sarcophagi found at Samarcand.



FIGURE 20.—RUINS OF AKSY



FIGURE 21.—RUINS OF AKSY



FIGURE 22.—RUINS OF BAIKENT

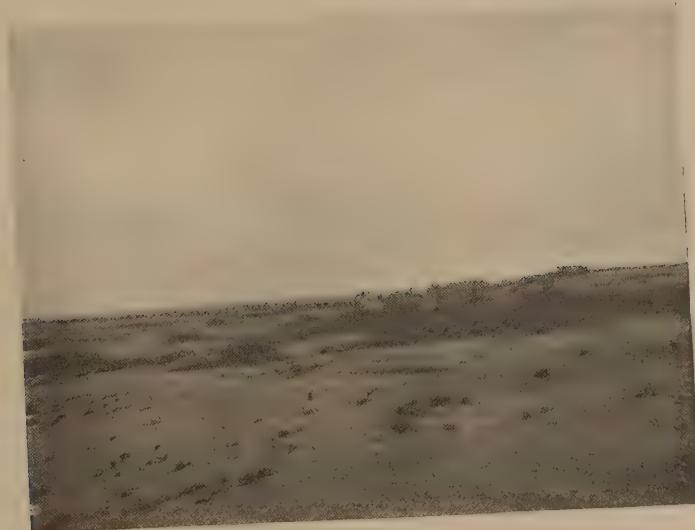


FIGURE 23.—RUINS OF BAIKENT

followed the old trade route over the Taldyk Pass as far as Lake Kara Kul, and went up the Terek Pass as far as the water allowed, I neither saw nor heard of carvings, and the rock for the most part is so crumbly that I do not believe any exist. At Duschak, and near Arivan, are caves which are held in religious awe by the natives: by passing through the three chambers of the latter, one arrives, it is said, miraculously at Mecca. In these caves bones have been found, and though these bones are quite possibly modern, the caves ought to be carefully cleaned out.

To sum up: Religion, history, and commerce all point to the country east of the Caspian as one of the earliest settled and richest parts of Europe, and one with which our Western and more familiar Europe was intimately associated. The existent traces of this civilization are clearly marked. In some places, as Merv, Samarcand, or Balkh, are the remains where once dwelt a teeming population; elsewhere are mounds, where were smaller settlements, forts, or burial-places.

Irregular excavation has already brought to light much of two general kinds. One kind is the Alexandrian remains, and if for no other reason than to get a fuller understanding of Hellenism, that marvellous phase of human development brought about by the great Macedonian, this country ought to be ransacked. But an even deeper interest attaches to the earlier remains,—remains of metal and terra-cotta which can as yet be but partially understood, but that lead to the inevitable conclusion that much will be found of a period as old as any we know anything about, and that will help to fill up a gap in the earliest history of civilization that will tend to give us a completer understanding of all that came later. The work will be arduous. The *kurgans* must be mapped and cross-sectioned; Merv, Samarcand, and (if government jealousies ever make it possible) Balkh must be carefully excavated. Only in such city-sites will much be found, for nomads such as have always been the population of the greater part of Central Asia have no interest in accumulating material, nor time to perfect and elaborate their products. But though the mounds in the desert will doubtless contain simpler and fewer objects than the mounds near the cities, they will be of equal interest to the student of human development. Works pleasing to the mere aesthetic sense need not be expected, but considering the nature of the country, which, as in Mesopotamia, forced the inhabitants to develop the use of brick, and remembering that the lives of these people were given up to war and trade, we are justified in expecting to find written records.¹ A barrel full of these would, in our present stage of knowledge, be worth more than another set of Elgin marbles. It took the courage of conviction to shovel away the mounds of Nimrud and Troy. Turkestan awaits her Layard and her Schliemann.

R. NORTON.

¹ I had already come to this conclusion before I had read Ferrier's *Caravan Journies*. In this work, on page 207, the author, speaking of the bricks at Balkh, says, "On some, but they were very scarce, of which the quality was exceedingly fine and hard, almost equalling stone, I observed cuneiform characters."

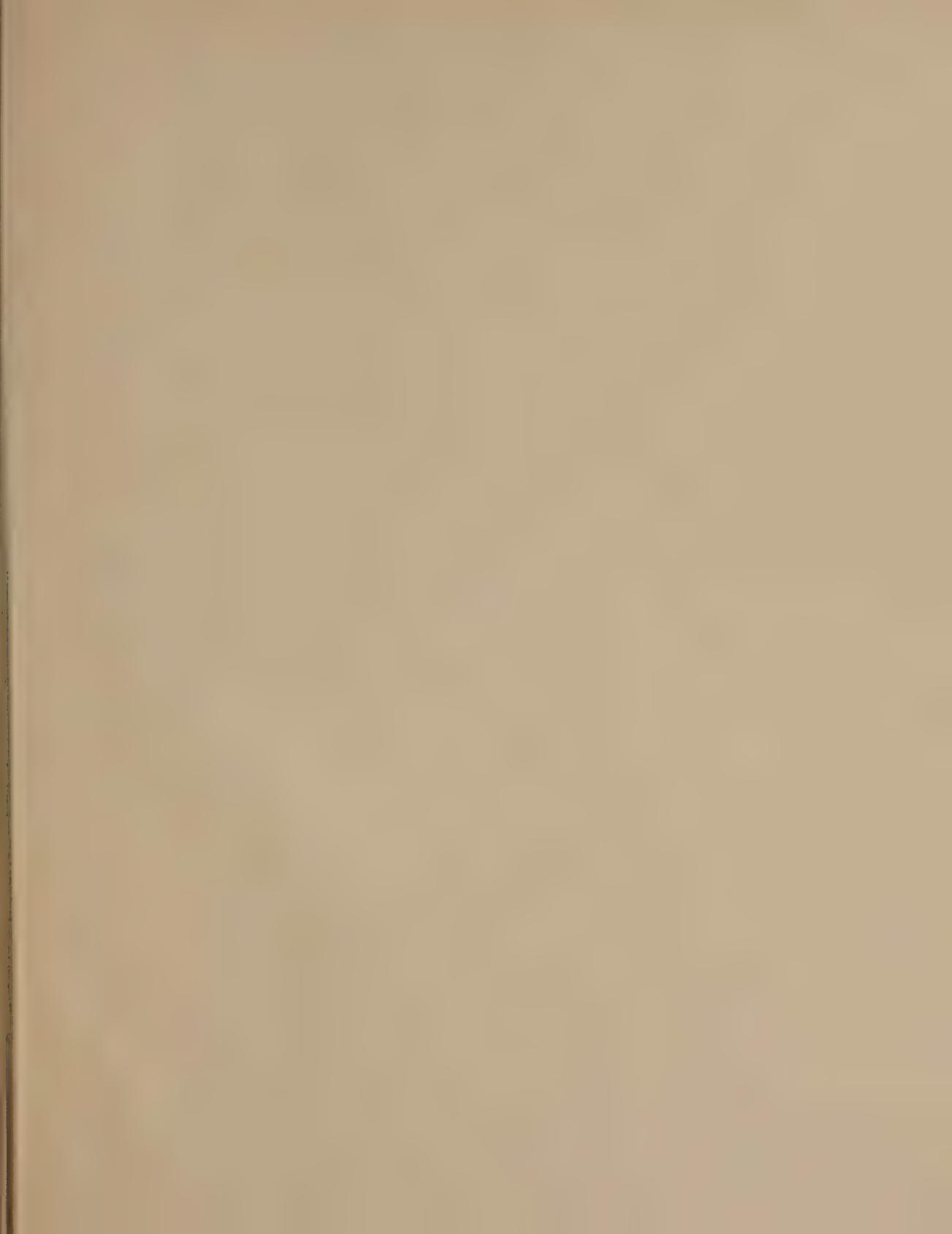
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